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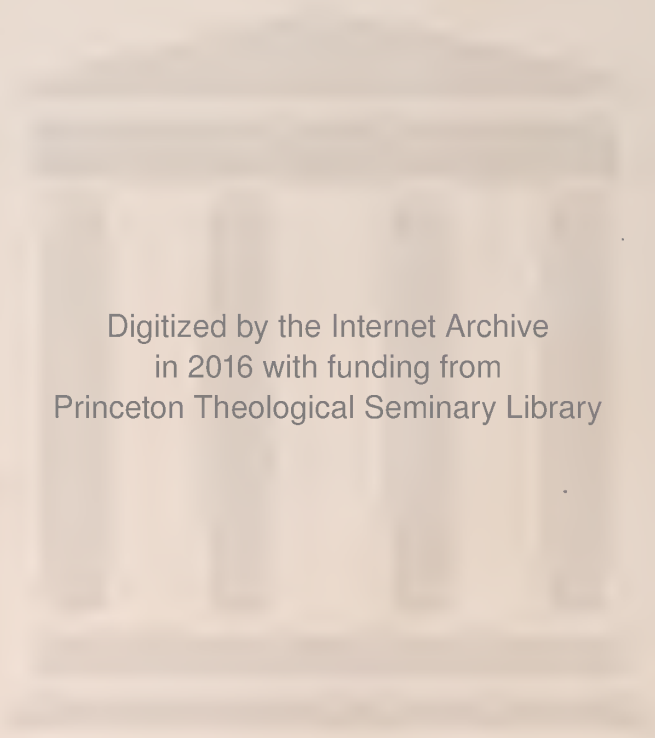

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JANUARY, 1853.

No. I.

ARTICLE I.—*Outlines of Moral Science*, by Archibald Alexander, D. D., late Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. New York: Charles Scribner, 1852.

THIS treatise, although published after the death of its lamented author, had been fully prepared for the press by him while living, except in a few unimportant details, in the final revision of which he was arrested by his last sickness. It was, however, so far completed by him, that he instructed his sons to give it to the world, and empowered them to make all necessary literary corrections—a liberty which they scarcely found occasion to use. It differs, therefore, from most posthumous publications, in being published by the direction, and upon the responsibility of the author. It exhibits his thoughts on the momentous topics treated in it, in the form in which he has chosen to present them to the world. It is, in every sense, Dr. Alexander's work, and sets forth those ethical teachings for which, with death and heaven immediately in view, he stood ready to be held responsible, not only at the bar of human criticism, but at the tribunal of God. This is not often true of posthumous publications. We doubt whether it was true of President Edwards's posthumous work on one important branch of the subject, his "Dissertation on the Nature of Virtue;" a

work which has "astonished most of his admirers," while it has, partly by a perversion, and partly by a fair use of its leading principle, been employed to subvert doctrines which that great divine gained his chief celebrity in defending.

The object of Dr. Alexander in preparing this unpretending volume, was to furnish a suitable text-book on moral science for our colleges and higher seminaries of learning. No one, at all conversant with the subject, can doubt that such a book has hitherto been a desideratum, or that he who succeeds in supplying this want, thereby renders one of the highest possible services to the cause of sound education, morality and religion. It would be difficult for any man to confer a higher benefit upon his race. Next to the knowledge of God, it is as true as trite, that "the proper study of mankind is man." But we need not say, that the rational and immortal nature of man towers above all other elements in his composition; or again, that of his spiritual essence, that whereby he is a moral and accountable being, ranks first in importance, as it is supreme in its authority over him. Surely that part of our constitution is most important to be understood, whose office it is to guide the rest. Moreover, the knowledge of our moral nature is intimately connected with the true knowledge of God, for it is here that the image of God in man is principally seated. It is this that binds us to God, and to love, serve, glorify and enjoy him. This alone makes us in any manner capable of religion or morality. Although the study and scientific knowledge of it be not indispensable to religion, yet it is, beyond all doubt, necessary to scientific theology; or, in other words, to the intelligent statement and vindication of the great principles of religion, especially of the redemptive system revealed in the Bible. The slightest glance will satisfy all that most of the great questions in Christian theology, particularly in the two great departments of anthropology and soterology, involve in their settlement all the main questions of ethical science. To determine whether moral good and evil be such in their own nature, or merely as they are a means to some further end; what properties in the will are requisite to free agency and accountability; and whether moral quality attaches to dispositions as well as acts, is in reality, to lay

down the great principles, not only of our ethical, but in some fundamental points, of our theological system; especially those which determine the nature and even possibility of experimental religion and spiritual regeneration. They run into almost every question connected with sin and grace. It is difficult, therefore, to overrate the value of a text-book which, besides being in its form happily adapted to the purposes of teaching, also inculcates and vindicates the truth in regard to the fundamental principles of moral science. It must be a powerful instrument for imbuing our professional and educated classes with just principles on some of the most fundamental and far-reaching questions which engage the attention or affect the welfare of our race. If the venerated author has succeeded in this attempt to provide a satisfactory text-book in moral science, although the last in time, it will be second to none, in value, among the contributions with which his devout and affluent mind has enriched our ethical, theological and devotional literature.

While many writers have elucidated the different branches of this subject with convincing light and power, few have undertaken to treat of it as a whole, and to adjust and compact its various parts together, in one systematic treatise. And of these, fewer still have succeeded, even if they have made the attempt, in unfolding the subject in that clear and simple style, logical method, freedom from irrelevant and burdensome matter, and from essential errors and omissions, which are so vital in a class-book. Butler has shed great light upon the subject. His solutions of some of the vexed questions relative to conscience, the nature of virtue, and the relations of the various appetites and affections to happiness and duty, will always be accepted and valued, because they are true and important. But they are found chiefly in a few detached essays, and incidental fragmentary observations. Moreover, he hardly touches any of the great questions concerning the will and free-agency, which are scarcely less important than those connected with conscience and the nature of virtue. Had he undertaken it, he had qualifications for preparing a text-book on this subject which ages could not have antiquated.

The Scotch philosophers, from Reid down to Chalmers, have

done much to illustrate this subject. Of these, some have excelled in one way, and some in another. But they are all so unfitted for the purpose of teaching, from important defects either in style or matter, that they have generally gone out of use as text-books. Who could fail to be entertained and instructed by the strong and pithy good sense, and the dense, luminous, nervous paragraphs of Dr. Reid on this or other subjects? Yet, to say nothing of other defects, his whole analysis of the will is unsatisfactory. The gorgeous periods and splendid diffuseness of Brown and Chalmers enchant while they enlighten us. But, to say nothing of errors and omissions, their very brilliancy and diffuseness render them useless as class-books. They only embarrass the teacher, while they dazzle and confound the pupil.

Few men have possessed that rare combination of gifts which Dr. Paley brought to the preparation of his celebrated text-book on moral philosophy. His simple, concise, transparent style, his abhorrence of all obscurity and mysticism, his acuteness in discerning wherein things differ, and wherein they agree, his focal power of mind so remarkably displayed in the Horæ Paulinæ, whereby, with effortless facility and inimitable tact, he would detect and gather into one bright, convincing light, all the scattered rays of truth, his sterling English sense and judgment, his experience as a teacher and lecturer on these subjects, all qualified him to make a book that should, in some good degree, approach the true ideal. And so he did. But alas! it lacked one thing yet. Its fundamental principle is false and corrupt. It poisons morality at the very heart, by degrading it into a mere instrument of happiness, a refined form of self-love. Thus basing virtue upon expediency, and denying to it any inherent worth for its own sake, the standard to which he appears to deem it expedient that all should conform, is the English Church in religion, the English constitution in government, and English society in manners. Yet, notwithstanding these grievous defects in principle, (the most vital thing,) such are the merits of its style and arrangement for didactic purposes, that it has, until recently, been the text-book in almost all our British and American colleges and universities. As such, it has exercised a vast and pernicious

influence. It has done much to poison the principles of the educated classes, and to corrupt theology, religion and morals. For these reasons there has long been a growing desire to lay it aside. The great difficulty has been to supply its place.

It is not surprising, therefore, that teachers in this department should strive, with various success, to produce a substitute. Among the works thus far provided for this purpose, Dr. Wayland's justly takes the lead. The rapid issue of successive editions of it, shows that the want was great, and that he has not failed, in some good degree, to meet it. His work has high merits. There could be no room for doubt between it and Paley's, as a safe text-book, or that it ought to be adopted as a substitute, until something still better is provided. It demolishes the utilitarian theory, and reproduces the scheme of Butler. It is conveniently arranged for study and recitation, by an able and accomplished teacher, yet it leaves almost untouched the fundamental questions relating to the will, free-agency, and those internal states, acts, and qualities, on which the moral faculty pronounces judgment, and which have ever been in controversy among men. Thus, it leaves some of the most vital first principles of the science unresolved. On the other hand, it goes largely into the details of practical duty as shown, not only by reason, but by revelation. These are also characteristics of Paley's, and many other works of this class. We cannot but deem the neglect to deal with any important portion of the first principles of a science, a material omission. It is of no avail to say that disputes about the will and free-agency are endless, and that the tenuous distinctions and mazy windings of the subject would only puzzle and confound the learner. The same may be said, just as properly, of questions concerning conscience and the nature of virtue. The very fact that disputes abound, is proof that errors abound on these subjects. If the discussion of them requires delicate discrimination, and is easily "in wandering mazes lost," this only shows what ample hiding-places they afford for errorists and sophists. It only makes the necessity and the obligation still more imperious, to guard our youth against these evils, by disentangling the webs in which polemics have involved these subjects; exposing vulgar errors, and setting forth the truth in

convincing clearness and simplicity. The very reason why our youth need to be instructed in moral philosophy, is that they are exposed to error respecting its first principles. If these be determined aright, the details will be managed with little difficulty. A correct system of practical ethics according to the Bible is of course indispensable in its place. It seems, however, in strictness, to pertain to the province of the Christian teacher rather than the moral philosopher, whose business it is to exhibit the facts and principles belonging to man's moral constitution, as shown by its own light, independently of revelation; in which state revelation finds it, and so finding it, addresses itself to it. For these antecedent facts in our moral nature necessitate natural religion, and alone render revealed religion necessary or possible. If we could suppose man divested of all knowledge of God, but in other respects just as he now is, there would still be a moral science, for he could not avoid judging some actions right, and others wrong. If, in addition to this, there be a belief in God, natural religion and theology inevitably result. If we superadd revelation and redemption, Christian theology, theoretical and practical, are at once generated. All these are distinct, and have their own distinctive principles. They run into each other in this sense, that each presupposes and includes all that precede it. Each exists independently of all that follow it; and should be rightly understood within its own limits, in order to a just conception either of itself, or what follows and is built upon it. Thus, if it be received as a fact in moral science, that "self-love is the primary cause of all voluntary action," this must be held with regard to Christian "voluntary action," and vitiates the whole exegesis of the Bible, the whole circle of Christian morality, piety, and theology.

There was a call, therefore, for another effort to produce a manual, which should clearly set forth and prove the first principles and fundamental facts of moral science, in a form suited to the recitation room. This want Dr. Alexander was led to feel deeply in the course of his long experience as a teacher, and from his observation of the ignorance, error, and confusion of mind, on these subjects, of a large portion of the graduates of our colleges. It had been a favourite topic of study and

reflection with him from early manhood. His views were then essentially fixed, and while he examined with eagerness every new treatise or article on the subject, yet they all served to perfect and confirm, without materially changing his original convictions. He brought to the preparation of the treatise a rare assemblage of qualifications; remarkable clearness, depth, acuteness, and compass of mind; great fairness and candour; distinguished learning; a singular experimental knowledge of moral and religious truth in the exercises of his own soul; a half-century of study, meditation, and discipline upon these subjects; a long career as an eminent teacher in this and theology, an affiliated science; a peculiarly simple and perspicuous style. No one could better understand, or better state, the real issues on which the whole science turns. No one could better understand the objections of adversaries, or how to state his positions so as to unmask their fallacy. No one could have been better qualified to keep clear of crude, rash, untenable statements. No one could have better comprehended the importance, or the precise relations of the various questions involved, to sound theology. No one could have better known in what form it was necessary to present these subjects for the purpose of class instruction, in such a way as to ground the learner in the vital truths of the science, and to exclude all matter not conducive to this capital result. We reckon it an advantage that this was his last, and, if possible, his ripest work; that, being the substance of lectures delivered for a long series of years, his mind had acted upon it again and again, to purge away all impurities, until it came out thoroughly defecated.

It is correctly entitled "Outlines of Moral Science." It deals only with its great leading principles. If these be correctly laid down, the filling up of the details of duty will easily follow. Moreover, this science is chiefly important, not as furnishing a table of rules for our practical guidance—these are found in the Bible, and in summaries and expositions of its teachings—but as exercising a powerful moulding influence upon our general conceptions of Christian doctrine, experience, and duty. It is divided into brief chapters, each of which holds up some single point in strong relief, and, by a short and

happy method, leads the reader or student to test and verify it by his own consciousness. And it is so managed as to confine the attention exclusively to the question in hand, to bring the mind of the pupil to act upon that and nothing else; and to enable him to see the truth by immediate intuition, or a direct palpable inference, without any obscure labyrinthine, or transcendental process, to puzzle or discourage him. Thus the pupil is led forward, step by step, through all the great principles of the science, by a method so plain and expeditious, that ere he is aware of it, he has mastered its fundamental truths, and wonders why he had never seen them before. The memory is not burdened, while the reasoning powers are called into active play, without which no real knowledge on subjects of this sort can be acquired. While the learner is thus excited to think out and master the points for himself, ample room is left for the teacher to expatiate according to his ability and taste. We have seen nothing that so nearly approximates our idea of a model text-book on this class of subjects. In style and method it seems to us no way inferior, while in matter it is, of course, incomparably superior, to Paley. Even if a teacher should dissent from some of its positions, yet the points are brought forward in such a manner, that he can easily bring his objections, so far as they have any weight, to bear upon the minds of his pupils. For it is little else than a syllabus of leading principles, so put, as to lead the student to ascertain accurately the testimony of his own consciousness, or undeniable facts, in reference to them.

After thus exhibiting moral science on its own independent foundation, the author concludes the volume with some brief chapters, in which he considers it with relation to the Author of our being. After demonstrating the existence of God, he shows how this truth acts upon the conscience, and becomes the chief centre around which its judgments and mandates revolve, and how immensely it widens the sphere of moral exercises and moral obligations. He then proceeds to show what these obligations are, as prescribed by the natural, unperverted conscience; and since the essence of obedience is internal in the dispositions, purposes and feelings of the mind, he designates the various inward affections towards God, which conscience

enjoins by the light of nature, and so gives an outline of natural religion. The whole ends with the following passage: "The above enumeration, it is believed, comprehends the internal acts and exercises in which the duty of man to God consists, which duties plainly arise out of the attributes of God, and man's relation to him, as his Creator, Preserver and Benefactor. And if man had never failed in the performance of these duties, if he had continued to exercise those affections which spontaneously sprung up in his soul when he came from the hands of his Creator, this world, instead of being a land of misery, would have been a blooming paradise of joy. And we may be sure that a good God, who loves all his creatures according to their actions, would never have permitted the natural evils which now oppress the human soul to have entered the world. Sickness, famine and death, in all its thousand different forms, would have been unknown.

"It is evident, from the slightest view of the character of man in all ages and countries, that he has lost his primeval integrity, that the whole race have, by some means, fallen into the dark gulf of sin and misery. This reason teaches; but how to escape from this wretched condition she teaches not." pp. 271, 2.

Thus this book prepares the way for, and leads us to the margin of, revelation, redemption and Christian theology.

We are of opinion that incalculable good would result from the thorough drilling of the students in our colleges and higher seminaries in such a text-book.

Were there no higher reasons, the exercising of the students upon the elements of moral science is an important means of mental discipline, which is the first object of a liberal education. Without some exercise of this kind, the best powers of the mind are but poorly developed and trained. By it the faculty of close attention and discrimination, of consecutive and logical thinking, of seizing tenuous but important distinctions, of detecting sophisms; all the powers, indeed, required for managing high and difficult subjects, for clarifying the obscure, and disentangling the intricate, are sharpened and invigorated. Here lies the most important department of mental training.

Especially does it develope the power of just casuistry, and of treating in the light of first principles the various problems which are presented to our professional men for solution in the ever-varying exigencies of society. New questions are constantly arising, or old ones are presented in new forms, as new emergencies arise. It is of the highest moment that our educated men become such experts in reasoning on moral subjects, as to solve these on right principles. Otherwise the friends of truth are liable to base its defense on some false principle, whose ultimate influence is worse than the errors they combat. What deplorable examples of this have occurred in recent occurrences in Church and State! In order to induce men to embrace religion, Christian teachers have been induced to propound theories of moral agency, which endow sinners with plenary ability, divest the Great Supreme of his control over his creatures, and turn all moral excellence into a modification of self-love! One party, zealous to extirpate slavery, have confounded the state of involuntary servitude with certain enormities in practice or in law, which individuals and legislatures have perpetrated in connection with it, and have stigmatized them as all alike iniquitous and abominable, in plain contradiction of Scripture, and to the great detriment of all parties in interest. Another class, (chiefly political men,) justly anxious to crush the spirit of disloyalty and rebellion against an unpalatable law, have virtually taught the people that the law of the land was paramount to the law of God, and that individuals had no right to consult the dictates of conscience in a case of conflict between the two, and obey God rather than man. The true issue was not whether human law takes precedence of the divine, but whether the law in question was in contravention of the law of God. Many, in their zeal to promote temperance, have contended that all use as a beverage of any intoxicating drink is sinful, thus plainly impeaching the morality of the Gospel, and placing the temperance reformation on a basis which, if adhered to, must surely prove its ruin, and furnish a foundation for infidel attacks on the revealed standard of righteousness.

Again, we are persuaded that true conceptions on this subject among our educated classes, are necessary as an antidote

to the strong utilitarian tendencies of our age and country. These have been much fostered by the false systems of moral philosophy that have been taught in our colleges. They find much encouragement in the intense and growing commercial spirit, and the increasing inventions for saving labour and augmenting physical happiness, which characterize our times. The first question with most, in regard to all things, is, will they advance my pleasures or my interest? The idea that truth, beauty, goodness, have an inherent worth in themselves, seems to be lost. They ask not, is this true or right? but, what can I make by it? "Supposing that gain is godliness," they see nothing in piety to commend their regard but the loaves and fishes it may bring them. And why should they abide in, or contend for, the truth, unless it be a good speculation? Why maintain the right, unless they are likely to be paid for it? Why be patriotic, magnanimous, heroic, brave, just, liberal, unless at a bargain? It is in vain that we serve God, and what profit is it that we pray unto him? Does God need our prayers, our services or our alms, and can he not bless us as well without as with them? As this spirit cankers all morality and religion, so it sooner or later invades and crushes all that is honourable and tender in sentiment and feeling, all strivings towards the beautiful and ideal in life, literature and art. It subjects all things to this Iscariot standard, and asks, "to what purpose is all this waste?" It "carries the bag," and thinks that "the gift of God may be purchased with money." It would adjust morality by the ledger, and test the "first good and first fair" by the balance-sheet. As well might it measure perfumes by the yard-stick, or time by hay-scales. It is a way of thinking which eats out the heart, the soul of a people; it spreads a blight over literature, art, morals and religion; it taints the halls of justice and of legislation, all the spheres of private and public life. The root of all this lies in that spurious ethical system which denies that moral goodness is good in itself, even the highest good, or good at all, or obligatory at all, except as it is a means of happiness, and thus exalts happiness to be the supreme and only real good. The true antidote to this is a sound ethical training, which shall make it for ever indubitable, that moral good is in itself good,

and the highest good, which happiness follows but does not constitute, as it follows but does not constitute health, as motion follows, but does not constitute life, as summer verdure and fruitfulness follow, but do not constitute the summer's sun. And this is an ultimate truth which, justly put, shines in its own light, and is its own evidence. If this be once seen, then it will be seen that truth and other things may be good in themselves; yea, better than mere happiness or "filthy lucre." Thus utilitarianism receives its death-blow.

But by far the most important advantage of a correct system of ethics to the rising race of educated men, is found in the radical relations it sustains to Christian theology, to which we have already alluded. This none can so fully appreciate as the theologian himself. And in this view Dr. Alexander was eminently qualified to write such a work. It is obvious that he had this in mind in every part of his book. Here lies one of its chief merits. Nearly all the great errors in theology derive their main plausibility and support from a false philosophy in relation to man's moral constitution, state and capabilities, i. e. a false moral philosophy. He so unfolds the truth as to lift the veil from these specious sophistries, and make their absurdity palpable; and this not by assuming any polemic attitude, but by the easy, natural exposition of his own principles, and the candid consideration of objections.

That the bearings of moral science upon theology may be more distinctly seen, we propose to show its influence in originating some of the phases of theological opinion that have been current in the country.

As connected with theology, moral science distributes itself into two main divisions, with respect to conscience and its operations: 1. The nature of that moral goodness which it approves, and the want of which it condemns in moral agents and their actions. 2. The various, and especially, the internal states and exercises in moral beings, in regard to which it pronounces its verdict.

On the first of these, Dr. Alexander gives the key to his own, and, in our opinion, to the true system, in the following deliverances:

"There is in the human mind a capacity of discerning what

is termed beauty, in the works of nature and art. This judgment is accompanied by a pleasurable emotion, and to this capacity or susceptibility we give the name Taste. There is also a power of discerning moral qualities, which conception is also attended with a vivid emotion; and to this power or faculty we give the name Conscience, or the moral faculty. Both these are so far original parts of our constitution, that if there did not exist in every mind a sense of beauty and its contrary, and a sense of right and wrong, such ideas could be generated or communicated by no process of education." pp. 46, 7.

"Virtue is a peculiar quality of certain actions of a moral agent, which quality is perceived by the moral faculty with which every man is endued; and the perception of which is accompanied by an emotion which is distinct from all other emotions, and is called moral. This being of a nature perfectly simple, does not admit of being logically defined, any more than the colour of the grass, the taste of honey, the odour of a rose, or the melody of a tune." p. 184.

"To see that an action is useful, and will produce happiness to him that performs it, or to others, is one thing; but to perceive that it is morally good, is quite a distinct idea; and virtue and mere utility should never be confounded." p. 186.

"The moment we see a thing to be morally right, the sense of obligation is complete; and all further inquiring for reasons why I am obliged to do right, is as absurd as would be inquiring for reasons why I should pursue happiness." p. 52.

These positions he sustains by incontestable proofs. As to the diverse moral judgments of different men, he shows that they originate in that ignorance and perverseness, whereby the whole truth of the case on which conscience sits in judgment, fails of being presented to it. Hence these diverse moral judgments, in reference to the same action, respect in reality diverse representations of it or its circumstances presented to the conscience by different persons. So far as these representations are false, he is blamable who makes them to his conscience, as also for the false moral judgments that follow. But when precisely the same case, *in all aspects*, is presented to the consciences of different men, the verdict of their consciences upon

it is immediately and unavoidably the same. And hence arises the necessity of that study and investigation which are found requisite for ascertaining the right in complicated cases. The object is to bring clearly to the view of conscience the precise point on which its decision is needed; but when this is accomplished, its judgment is immediate and sure. This solution coincides with that given by Dr. McCosh, of the same facts.

The theory of morals, which the system here set forth confronts, is that which makes happiness the only good. According to this, other things, such as virtue and truth, are good only relatively, as they are instruments of promoting it. Nothing is morally good except as, and because, it conduces to happiness. Of this theory there are two forms, both of which have had great influence upon theological speculation in our country. The first and least offensive form of it, is that which makes the essence of virtue lie in promoting the highest happiness of the universe. According to this, nothing is morally good in itself, but only as it is a means of happiness, the only ultimate and real good.

The second and most revolting, but most logically consistent form of it, is that which makes the essence of virtuous action to lie in its tendency to promote the highest happiness of the agent. We say most revolting, for what principle can be more so, to beings gifted with a moral sense? We say more logically consistent, for if happiness be the supreme good, is it not incumbent on every man to make it his first object of pursuit?

This theory is maintained in its unmitigated boldness by Dr. Paley. In the form in which it is advanced by him, and in full reply to his chief arguments, Dr. Alexander exposes its futility and foulness.

Most of our readers are aware that this same doctrine of morals is one of the main pillars of the New Haven Divinity, which not long since shook our various Calvinistic communions to their centre. Once allow it, and most of the other principles of that school, and some things disowned by it, follow by direct consequence. If self-love or the desire of happiness be the highest principle in the best of men, it surely is in the worst, and hence there is no radical difference between the two. Both act from the same principle, the only difference being,

that the one class does it with more sagacity than the other. Hence there is and can be no such thing as native and inherent moral depravity. There is no room for implanting any new principle by the Spirit in regeneration. The office of the Holy Ghost, if he has any, is essentially the same in kind as that of the preacher. His work is one of moral suasion only. The sinner has plenary ability to choose to follow his own highest happiness. All that is necessary, is to present to him the truth, and show him what course leads to it. If all this be true, that preacher was guilty neither of hyperbole nor irreverence, who said, "If I were as eloquent as the Holy Ghost, I could convert sinners as fast as he." It was not surprising that religion, thus levelled to the natural man, should for a time multiply its converts. It reminds one of the label which a gentleman once placed on a bundle of Socinian tracts, "Salvation made easy, or every man his own Redeemer."

In all the reasonings of the abettors of this scheme, so far as we have observed, they constantly impose on themselves and others, by an unconscious begging of the question. They constantly use the word *good* as if it were only the equivalent of happiness; as if, in short, happiness were the only good. On this depends the whole plausibility of their logic, which surely ought to be conclusive, if they furtively assume their whole theory in the premises. Thus one of these writers, after laying down the principle that "it is the ability we possess to appreciate His (God's) disposition to render us happy, and in view of it to derive enjoyment, that constitutes us the proper subjects of obligation," and that the "true ultimate foundation of obligation is its tendency to promote the highest happiness of the agent, by promoting the highest welfare of all," says, "the bond of obligation fastens upon him precisely at this point of *his highest good.*" "He ought not to prefer a less to a greater *good.*" "It is the nature of the being, constituted as every moral agent must be, to seek happiness, *to obtain good*, if possible."* "The very reason which God assigns, (for the obligation of his law,) is, that it is *good*—the surest way of making us most happy."† Another writer says, "that

* Christ. Spectator, Vol. X., No. iv., pp. 530–2. † Ib. p. 538.

such an action, which has no tendency to produce *good or happiness* either to the agent or others, should be supposed to be morally right or morally good, is to suppose that to be morally right or *good*, which is *good* for nothing."* This, and much more the like, would be as fine as it sounds, were not the very question in issue, whether happiness be the only and the highest good, and whether moral rectitude be not a good, distinct from, and superior to happiness? We leave the answer to these questions to the moral sense of our readers. Due notice of this paralogism will kill volumes of sophistry on these subjects.

Again, this same writer contends that the idea of right is not simple, because it involves, "first, the idea of the action as intelligent; secondly, the idea of the action as voluntary; thirdly, as tending to the greatest happiness of others; and fourthly, as tending to the greatest happiness of the agent."† We deny that the two last ideas enter into our idea of an act as right, however such an act may promote the happiness of ourselves or others, any more than they enter into the idea of truth, albeit truth may promote happiness. To say that right is a complex idea, because it characterizes the actions of intelligent voluntary agents, is like saying that happiness is a complex idea, because it can only attach to sensitive beings; or proportion, because it can only hold between a plurality of objects, or colour, because it belongs only to matter, and requires light and eyes to be seen. However, these things are not to be argued. Each one must consult his own consciousness as to whether the idea of right is only the idea of productiveness of happiness.

Another common shift is seen in the following, from another of these writers. He asks, "is it mean to seek our highest happiness in making others happy?"‡ But why is it obligatory to do it in this way rather than any other, if there be no ultimate ground of obligation but a regard to our own happiness? Besides, the meanness or nobleness of "making others happy" depends entirely on the intention with which it is done.

* Christ. Spectator, Vol. VII., No. iv., pp. 608, 9.
† Ib. p. 608.
‡ Ib. Vol. VII., No. iv., p. 567.

If a man proposes to make others happy in unrighteousness, that he may thrive upon their vices, he is "mean" and detestable.

But since it is manifest that all men desire other objects besides their own happiness, and this fact breaks the back-bone of this scheme, they try to evade its force by turning all the desires into forms of self-love, and by saying that in seeking any object of desire, we are seeking the *subjective* pleasure which arises from procuring and possessing it. "All our desires are only different forms of self-love. They are nothing but the soul going forth after happiness, or the means of it, (for we desire nothing else)."* Again, "we do not mean the objective motive, whatever it may be, which is at the moment of choice *in view* of the mind, and which influences to the specific decision; but we mean that deep laid spring which sets in motion the activity of a moral being."† This shows that the writer had a moral sense which yet rose above his speculations. It is giving up the whole in a sentence. The following from Bishop Butler, is the best comment upon it: "That all particular appetites and passions are towards *external things themselves*, distinct from the *pleasure arising from them*, is manifested from hence, that there could not be this pleasure, were it not for that prior suitableness between the object and the passion. * * * And if, because every particular affection is a man's own, and the pleasure arising from its gratification his own pleasure, or pleasure to himself, such particular affection must be called self-love; according to this way of speaking, no creature whatever can possibly act but merely from self-love; and every action and every affection whatever is to be resolved up into this one principle. But then this is not the language of mankind; or, if it were, we should want words to express the difference between the principle of an action, proceeding from cool consideration that it will be to my own advantage, and an action, suppose of revenge, or of friendship, by which a man runs upon certain ruin, to do evil or good to another."

The second form of the dogma that happiness is the only good, makes the promotion of the highest happiness of the

* Christ. Spectator, Vol. VII., No. iv., p. 566. † Ib., Vol. X., No. iv.

universe, the essence of moral goodness. Those who hold this view, of course resolve all virtue ultimately into benevolence. But it is a mistake to suppose that all who simplify all virtue into mere benevolence, however erroneous this opinion may be, make happiness the only good, or deny that virtue or vice is intrinsically good or evil. Dr. Emmons thus reduced all virtue to benevolence alone. Yet no man dealt more frequent or ponderous blows against utilitarianism. He says, that "to suppose that virtue consists in utility, is to suppose that there is nothing right in the nature of things, * * that there is nothing in the universe intrinsically good or evil, but happiness or misery, * * that there is really no such thing as virtue and vice in the universe."—*Works*, Vol. IV., pp. 175–7. Again, "moral good, which consists in true benevolence, is morally right in its own nature. And moral evil, which consists in selfishness, is morally wrong in its own nature. * * Or, if it were supposable that benevolence should have a natural tendency to promote misery, still it would be morally excellent in its own nature. Or, if it were supposable that selfishness should have a natural tendency to promote happiness, still it would be in its own nature, morally evil. * * It is the nature of a voluntary exercise in a moral agent that renders it morally good, and not its tendency."—*Ib.* pp. 226, 7. Although it is an error to suppose that benevolence is the whole of virtue, yet this is consistent with the idea that it is good in itself, irrespective of its tendency to promote happiness. It consists, on this hypothesis, in a desire to impart a like benevolence to others on account of its own moral excellence, and is *toto cælo*, above that form of it which makes happiness the only good. On the other hand, Dr. Dwight, in this instance, unfortunately departing from his usual habit of allowing the intuitive beliefs and common sense of mankind higher authority than mere speculation, laid the foundation of virtue in mere utility or tendency to promote happiness. Yet he is careful to say that this is not the rule for our guidance, because we are incapable of applying it. And his main object seems to be, to find some ground or standard of moral excellence in the nature of things, as distinguished from mere will. For in common with most leading writers on this subject, he rightly argues,

that if virtue be founded in the mere *will* of God, then if God should so ordain, lying, theft and blasphemy would be virtuous, a conclusion from which we instinctively revolt. So Edwards in that Dissertation on the Nature of Virtue, which is supposed to have given the first start to the peculiar speculations of some New England divines on this subject, appears to have been led to propound his fundamental dogma on this subject, viz: that "virtue is benevolence or love to being in general," by his repugnance to the sentiment, "that conscience can be truly said to be no more than a *sentiment arbitrarily* given by the Creator, without any relation to the nature of things."* It seems to have escaped both these penetrating minds, that moral rectitude is as much a part of the nature of things, and as much an ultimate good, and a simple uncomprehended idea, as beauty, truth or happiness. He argues that "if virtue consists primarily in love to virtue, * * we never come to any beginning or foundation; it is without beginning and hangs on nothing."† But virtue is a good in itself. To love it is therefore good. If it therefore "hangs on nothing," then happiness "hangs on nothing," for it surely is no more than good in itself. To inquire why righteousness is good, and why we ought to pursue it, is no more reasonable than it is to inquire why happiness is a good, and why we ought to pursue it. This fact these distinguished men appeared to see clearly, when they were not speculating on the subject, and trying to explain that which can be explained into nothing more simple and ultimate than itself. They were possessed by the idea, if they did not possess it. The very title of one chapter in Edwards's Treatise on the Religious Affections, and that which is the key to the whole book is, "the first objective ground of gracious affections, is the transcendently excellent and amiable nature of divine things *as they are in themselves;* and not any conceived relation they bear to self, or self-interest."‡ Again, "the holiness of love consists especially in this, that it is the love of that which is *holy, for its holiness;* * * * *It must be the nature of holiness chiefly to tend to and delight in holi-*

* Edwards's Works, New York edition, Vol. III, p. 155.

† Ib, p. 96. ‡ Ib., Vol. V., p. 129.

ness."* If this is in direct contradiction of the main reason which he assigns for seeking a foundation for virtue stronger than itself, it is only what often happens in the case of the mightiest men. They may think that they have succeeded in speculating away their intuitive convictions, their belief in free-agency, or in the intrinsic difference between moral good and evil, or like Berkeley, in the reality of the external world. And yet they will soon make it manifest that a belief in these things underlies all that they do and say, when their theories are out of mind. Edwards's speculations on this subject appear to have had very little influence on his views of practical and theoretical theology. His "Dissertation" seems to have been a sort of tentative effort, made late in life, to erect a new adamantine barrier against a selfish scheme of religion, which then began to inundate the churches. The disorders of the "great awakening" gave birth to two opposite forms of spurious religion, each based on no higher principle than self-love. One was that of frigid Arminian moralists, who felt emboldened by these disorders to assail experimental religion and supernatural regeneration, and to contend for the sufficiency of an orderly life animated by self-love. The other was that of the fanatics who conceived the essence of conversion to lie in getting comfort, and in loving Christ merely from the persuasion that he would save them. It will be observed that the stress of the practical writings of Edwards, and of his two distinguished friends and coadjutors, Bellamy and Hopkins, is mainly directed against these two forms of religion based upon self-love. It was therefore natural that benevolence, the opposite of mere self-love, should be uppermost in their view as the chief element of true goodness, until, as often happens, the opposite of a given wrong came to be regarded as the essence of all right. Hopkins took up the main principle of Edwards's Essay on Virtue, not as a speculation outside of the main fabric of his theology, but as its fundamental principle, which he undertook logically to carry out in his system. He therefore fell athwart some of the doctrines of catholic Calvinism, and of Edwards, their eminent defender. His followers, in

* Edwards's Works, New York edition, Vol. V., p. 146.

this respect, however, were never numerous. They were always, like those of Emmons, a decided minority even in New England itself, as Dr. Woods has proved by incontestable evidence.* Bellamy, on the other hand, has always been conceded to be a representative of the prevailing type of New England doctrine in his day, and not, like Hopkins, the head of a little party. He followed Edwards in all the great principles of practical and theoretical divinity, but followed him not in this single exceptional case wherein he was eccentric to his main orbit. He contended that "right and wrong do not result from the mere will and law of God, nor from any tendency of things to promote or hinder the happiness of God's creatures. It remains, therefore, that there is an intrinsic moral fitness and unfitness absolutely in things themselves."†

Yet of all his compeers, he marshals the most weighty and crushing arguments against a religion founded in mere self-love. And well he might. He held the strongest position from whence to assail it. Truth alone is mighty. But still the doctrine that all virtue is reducible to benevolence, either on the ground of its utility, or because of its intrinsic excellence, received so great an impulse, not chiefly from the writings of Hopkins, or of the younger Edwards, his follower, but from the great and sacred name of the elder Edwards, that it came at length to impregnate a large part of the writings

* Theology of the Puritans, pp. 13–15.

Dr. Woods is confirmed in the main position taken in this excellent pamphlet, by the following, published in 1845 by an author whom no one will charge with unfair Old-school partialities: "As early as 1648, our fathers gave in their unanimous adherence to the Westminster Confession; this they did, as they say, that they might express their belief and profession of 'the same doctrines which had been generally received in all the reformed Churches in Europe.' And in 1680, the churches of the Commonwealth drew up a confession of faith, affirming the same doctrines and using nearly the same words as the Westminster. This is the authorized faith of the Congregational churches—the only faith which has ever been preferred by the churches assembled by their pastors and representatives in synod or council. And this has been not only the publicly authorized faith of our churches, but it has been the *real or implied faith of every church calling itself Congregational*."—*Badington's History of the First Church, Charlestown, Mass., p.* 151. On this ground the author proceeds to vindicate the exclusion of the Unitarians from fellowship, by the orthodox churches of Massachusetts.

† Bellamy's Works, New York edition, Vol. I., p. 83.

which have received the distinctive appellation of New England theology. What was held by the Edwardses, father and son, by Hopkins, Smalley and Dwight, and Emmons, of course had a wide prevalence. The consequences of this peculiarity were not at once developed. They scarcely appear in the writings of the elder Edwards, who was, with hardly a deviation, a defender of Calvinism, after the Reformed and Puritan standard. But it had the effect very soon among his successors, of leading to a denial of the imputation of Adam's sin and of Christ's righteousness, and to some important innovations upon the received doctrine of the atonement. The abandonment of our race by God to depravity and ruin, instead of being deemed a penal visitation of justice for the sin of its representative, came to be regarded as a mere sovereign infliction of evil, not in punishment of sin, but for the greatest good of the universe. And it became necessary, therefore, (if we may borrow a word from the Tractarians,) to put a "non-natural" meaning upon such words, as that "by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation." The important idea was thus unconsciously introduced, that God sometimes inflicts the most fearful evils upon moral beings in mere sovereignty, irrespective of any *sin* in themselves, or their representatives. Of course too, it was impossible to ignore the idea of justice as distinct from benevolence, without giving up the idea of the atonement as being strictly a satisfaction of justice, or as the sufferance of the sinner's penalty by a substitute. It became a mere *expedient* to display God's hatred of sin, and regard for his law, by subjecting his Son to death, instead of punishing sinners, and this, for the sake of the greatest happiness of the universe. A regard to this, indeed, these writers call "public justice," and in this sense, they say that Christ satisfied divine justice.* Of course the whole basis of the idea of imputation as connected with the work of Christ, by which he is punished for our sins reckoned to his account, and we are justified and rewarded for the sake of his righteousness, reckoned to our account, is lost, while it is yet, we rejoice to say, most strenuously held in another sense, that the believer is pardoned and

* See the Sermons of Jonathan Edwards the younger, on the Atonement.

justified, solely by faith in Christ viewed as suffering and obeying in his stead. Whether it has been the effect of these modifications of the doctrine of the cross, to give Christ and him crucified a more commanding place and power in preaching, than before prevailed, must be determined by those who have the means of judging. All facts known to us indicate a contrary result.

Another fruit of the principle under consideration was to resolve all sin into selfishness. But as men are conscious of virtues which do not class under benevolence, so they are conscious of sins which do not class under selfishness. A man who in a fit of generosity, gives away his estate or his time to a prodigal friend, which is needed for his own support, or that of his family, as truly sins, as the veriest miser. Men often sin in making their own welfare a sacrifice to the overbearing demands of others. They are bound to be "just before they are generous." In short, benevolence must be regulated by justice, or it is no longer a virtue. The two are complements of each other. It is artificial, one-sided, inadequate to reduce all sin or all virtue to one category. It fails to find a response in the living consciousness of men, and must weaken the power of that preaching into which it radically enters, over their consciences. It must therefore tend towards a one-sided development of moral and religious character. The disposition to reduce all religion to philanthropy, is a dangerous vice of the times.

Moreover, all extremes tend, by reaction, to produce the contrary extremes. As we have already seen, the dogma that benevolence is the whole of virtue gave place within the present generation, to the opposite dogma, that "self-love is the primary cause of all voluntary action," on the part of a numerous and powerful school.

Nor is this all. If benevolence is the sum of all goodness, then it is the only element in God's moral character. He is therefore disposed to produce all the happiness possible in the universe. Why then does he not make all his creatures happy, by making them holy? One hypothesis is that he cannot, without destroying moral agency. We need not say, where this has found earnest and able advocates. Another, is the

heresy of the Universalists, that God is both desirous and able, and therefore will save all men. President Clap in his syllabus of the heresies that were beginning to threaten the Churches, published more than a century ago, specifies the following as one: "The ultimate end and design of God in the creation, is the happiness of the creature.

"God's ultimate design never can be finally frustrated or defeated; therefore all intelligent creatures shall be finally happy." The solution of the orthodox, who hold this theory, of course is, that God creates the greatest aggregate of happiness in the universe, by consigning a portion of his creatures to misery. But we think it a far weaker defence against these heresies, than the theory which distinguishes justice from benevolence, and makes them both equally necessary elements of the divine goodness. When it is pleaded in behalf of the scheme objected to, that "God is love," and that "love is the fulfilling of the law," we simply ask, love to what? Is it not primarily love to moral excellence, as it exists in the Most High? And do not the Scriptures show that this is just, as well as benevolent?

It is worthy of note in this connection, that Dr. Bellamy, as he held the true view of the nature of virtue, also strenuously defended the imputation of Adam's sin and Christ's righteousness, and held the atonement to be strictly and properly in satisfaction of divine justice, as we should be glad, if we had space, to make more fully appear.

We have a single remark further, in concluding this branch of the subject. It will be observed from the analysis we have given, that there is a very general agreement among the leading writers on Moral Philosophy, in rejecting the theory that the *mere will* of God is the *foundation* of obligation, while all concur in making it the rule of duty. Their repugnance to this theory lies in this, that if virtue be founded in *mere will*, then had that will ordained the opposite of what it has, it would be virtuous and binding. But our moral sense revolts at the idea that lying, blasphemy, and malice, could be made right by the mandate of even an omnipotent will. Therefore there must be some immutable standard of virtue to which the divine will conforms, and commands all others to conform. But others

feel a strong repugnance to this view, inasmuch as it seems to make God amenable to a power out of himself; or implies some eternal entity extraneous to him—and in a vital point superior to him—thus militating against his supremacy, independence, and exclusive divinity. The true solution seems to be, that an eternal standard of rectitude exists to which the will of God conforms, and requires all moral agents to conform; but that this is not extraneous to his own being. It is the eternal, immutable, immaculate sanctity and goodness of his own nature, to which his will infallibly conforms, for he cannot deny himself. This is original rectitude, and the norm of all rectitude in Creator and creatures. The power of perceiving what is thus right or morally good, he has implanted in all moral agents, by enduing them with conscience, or the moral faculty. It is by this faculty that the creature discerns the obligation to obey and honour his Maker, when once he knows his existence and character. And without such a faculty he could neither feel this, nor any other moral obligation. Thus Turretin and orthodox divines generally dispose of this question, and, in our judgment, dispose of it aright.

It is perhaps proper also to notice an evasion sometimes attempted by the abettors of the happiness scheme, in either of its forms, for the purpose of parrying objections against it. It is this. They say they mean, not that the essence of goodness consists in pursuing or promoting happiness of whatever sort, but only that which is of the most pure and elevated kind. To say no more of this, it is enough that it really gives up the whole. For it confesses that the essence of goodness lies not in the *amount*, but the *purity* of the happiness pursued or promoted, *i. e.* in subordinating our devotion to happiness to a rectitude which is superior to, and regulative of it. It is no longer "love to being in general," or to happiness "in general," but to the *right kind* of being, and happiness. It is no longer *quantum*, but *quale*, that is the standard, and rectitude and purity are enthroned, as they should be, in supremacy over happiness.

Passing now from the consideration of conscience and the standard of moral obligation to the actions and states on which the moral faculty passes judgment, it is conceded on all sides,

that it is only the acts or states of moral beings, endowed with reason, conscience, and will, that come under its jurisdiction. It is another question, how far these faculties must be developed into active and conscious moral agency, in order that the inherent, native dispositions of the soul may be deemed to possess moral character, merit, or demerit. The following extracts from Dr. Alexander's work will indicate the leading principles laid down by him on this subject, which he illustrates and sustains with his usual felicity and force.

"When it is said that the actions of moral agents are the only proper objects of moral approbation or disapprobation, two qualifications of the assertion must be taken into view. The first is, that the omission to act when duty calls, is as much an object of disapprobation as a wicked action. * * * The second qualification of the statement is, that when we disapprove an external act, we always refer the blame to the motive or intention. But if we have evidence that the agent possesses a nature or disposition which will lead him often or uniformly to perpetrate the same act when the occasion shall occur, we not only censure the motive, but extend our moral disapprobation to the disposition or evil nature lying behind." pp. 93, 4.

"Indeed if there is one point on which responsibility above all others rests, it is on the motives, that is, the active desires or affections of the mind, from which volition proceeds, and by which it is governed." p. 120.

"It is admitted that man has power to govern his own volitions, and does govern them according to his own desire. He has the liberty within the limits of his power, to act as he pleases, and greater liberty in our judgment is inconceivable. To suppose, in addition to this, a power to act independently of all reasons and motives, would be to confer on him a power for the exercise of which he could never be accountable. It would be a faculty which would completely disqualify him from being the subject of moral government." p. 127.

"In every act of choice or will it is implied that the person willing might, if he pleased, act in a different way from what he does, for otherwise he would be under a necessity of acting in one way only, and there could be no freedom in such an

action. * * * A man may do what he pleases, but it is absurd to suppose that he can will to do what it does not please him to do."

"The doctrine of a power of contrary choice, as the thing has now been explained, is a reasonable doctrine, and in accordance with all experience, if with the volition you include the motive, if with the choice you take in the desire. But to suppose a volition contrary to the prevailing inclination is inconsistent with all experience; and, as has been shown, such a liberty or power would disqualify a man for being an accountable moral agent." pp. 132–4.

"When it is asserted that all moral actions are voluntary, the meaning is, either that by actions only external actions are meant, or that under the word voluntary, the affections of the mind which precede volition are included. * * * Our desires are as free and spontaneous as our volitions, and when it is said that every moral act must be voluntary, the word is used in this comprehensive sense." p. 137.

"It is clear then that men are more accountable for their motives than for anything else; and that primarily, morality consists in the motives; that is, in the affections." p. 140.

"As to the maxim, that nothing is sinful which is not voluntary, it relates to positive acts, not to dispositions of the mind. But as was explained before in regard to the desires and affections, so in regard to dispositions, we say that they are in a sense voluntary. They properly belong to the will, taking the word in a large sense. In judging of the morality of voluntary acts, the principle from which they proceed is always included in our view, and comes in for its full share of the blame. Thus Bishop Butler, in his excellent essay on the 'Nature of Virtue,' says, in speaking of the moral faculty, 'it ought to be observed that the object of this faculty is actions, comprehending under that name active and practical principles.' This sagacious man saw that it would not do to confine virtue to positive acts, but that principles must come in for their full share of approbation or disapprobation."

"The notion that corrupt principles must vitiate the essence of the soul is without foundation. The soul is the subject of many affections which are not essential to it. Natural affec-

tions may be extirpated, and yet the soul remain unchanged. Moral qualities may be entirely changed, without any change in the essence of the soul. The faculties remain, while the moral principles which govern them may be changed from good to bad, and from bad to good. The same faculties which are employed in the performance of virtuous actions, may be occupied as instruments of wickedness. That inherent moral qualities may exist in the soul, has been the belief of all nations, and is the sentiment of every common man whose judgment has not been warped by a false philosophy." pp. 151–3.

"Those, however, who maintain that the will possesses a self-determining power, independent of motives, deny the existence of any such principles lying back of the acts of the mind, especially in moral exercises." p. 147.

"The reason why one effect is necessary and another free, is not that the one takes place without an adequate cause, or that the same cause may produce different effects; for both these are contrary to common sense. The true reason is, that the one is produced against will, or without will, whereas the other is a voluntary act." p. 106.

These several positions will carry their own evidence to unbiassed minds, that faithfully inspect their own consciousness. For those, however, who entertain any doubt, they are abundantly vindicated by the author, with his usual clearness and cogency of argument and aptness of illustration. Those who have been interested in the great controversies that have agitated the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches of our country during the last quarter of a century, will at once see their bearings on the main questions in issue. They present a conclusive answer to nearly all the objections which have been raised against the doctrines of the Westminster and Savoy Confessions, in regard to original sin and original righteousness, inability, regeneration, and decrees. The whole force and plausibility of the arguments for what is commonly called the New-school Divinity, lie in the denial of these plain ground-truths, we had almost called them postulates, of moral science: so fundamental is the relation of this science to these subjects.

Irrespective of the happiness scheme of morals already considered, which large numbers who advocate the New Theology,

as a whole, have rejected, (how consistently it is not for us to show,) it has been founded on three leading principles: 1. That moral character attaches to acts only, and not only so, but to acts of volition only, and that the spontaneous desires and affections of the mind lying back of, and prompting volition, are constitutional propensities devoid of moral character, except so far as they are acted on by volition. 2. That those dispositions which underlie and give birth to all exercises, whether spontaneous or voluntary, have no moral character and no good or ill desert. 3. That we are not responsible even for our volitions, unless they are the acts of a will, which in each instance of choice, has at the same moment, and under the prompting of precisely the same internal and external motives, power to make the contrary choice. Allow these principles, and not only New-school Theology follows, but a great deal more. There is no consistent stopping-place short of unmitigated Pelagianism. And few have ever long remained content in such a resting-place. *Facilis descensus.* Those who have not returned from this point towards the landmarks of eternal truth, have usually plunged rapidly downward from depth to depth of error. On the other hand, take away either of these three cardinal principles, and the system of which they are a part at once staggers and reels. Thus, deny either of them, and the doctrine that wicked men are able instantly, *propriis viribus*, to repent, believe, and fulfil all righteousness, without which most persons would care little for the whole *catena* interlinked with it, must be given up. Deny these principles, and every plausible argument against native, inherent, sinful depravity, sinful inability, efficacious grace, the implantation of new principles in regeneration, the sovereignty of God and the dependence of man therein, and unconditional personal and eternal election, is neutralized. On the contrary, if the principles in question are admitted, then not only must these doctrines fall before them, but it will follow that religion must be excluded from its main theatre, from the spontaneous affections and inmost principles of the soul; that evil lusts and passions are not morally wrong, except so far as they are produced by a volition; that when we *would* do good, moral evil *cannot* be present with us; that the will of a moral agent has, in the lan-

guage of a distinguished divine of this school, "power to act despite all opposing power," and thus, that God is divested of his sovereignty over the moral universe.

That some of the worst of these principles have been extensively and earnestly propagated, and have kindled bitter contention in the Church, is painfully notorious. There is, however, a portion of those who hold the "exercise scheme" as it is called, *i. e.*, that moral quality pertains only to acts, who escape some of the most offensive of these dogmas, by rejecting the figment, that the acts of the will are not determined by any thing antecedent to themselves, sometimes called by its advocates, the self-determining power, and sometimes, the power of contrary choice, and by maintaining the opinion, which few have accepted, that infants from birth have their faculties sufficiently developed to make them true and proper moral agents. Of this class were Hopkins and Emmons, and their limited circle of followers. Few have been stronger sticklers than these men for native depravity, a real moral inability, efficacious grace, and especially for decrees, predestination, and absolute divine sovereignty over the human will. These last indeed, were their favourite and habitual themes. Emmons at least, pushed them to the extreme of hyper-Calvinism. With fearless consistency, he openly preached that God is the direct efficient of the sinful as well as the holy actions of men, and that the wicked are as truly dependent on him as the regenerate, for their volitions and character. The following is a sample of the manner in which he taught these revolting dogmas.

"Since the Scripture ascribes all the actions of men to God as well as to themselves, we may justly conclude that the divine agency is as much concerned in their bad as in their good actions. Many are disposed to make a distinction here, and to ascribe only the good actions of men to the divine agency, while they ascribe the bad ones to the divine permission. But there appears no ground for this distinction in Scripture or reason. * * * He not only prepared these persons (Joseph's brethren,) to act, but he made them act. He not only exhibited motives of action, but disposed their minds to comply with the motives exhibited. But there was no possible way in

which he could dispose them to act right or wrong, but only by producing right or wrong volitions in their hearts. And if he produced their bad as well as their good volitions, then *his agency was concerned in precisely the same manner in their wrong as in their right actions.*"* "Though they (men,) always act under a divine influence, yet that influence neither increases their virtue (merit?) nor diminishes their guilt, and of consequence ought never to be brought into view when they are praised or blamed for their conduct."† It was not strange, when such hyperborean metaphysics came to be thrown like so many icicles from the pulpit, upon Christian assemblies, that there should have been a violent recoil to a contrary extreme. If God works sin as much, and in the same manner as holiness, then it is easy to say he is no more the author of holiness than of sin, and to deny divine efficiency and special efficacious grace altogether. Somebody shrewdly said, "Taylorism is Emmonsism with the divine efficiency part cut off." And the venerable doctor himself once replied to a distinguished improver of theology, who greeted him with the congratulation, "Well Dr. Emmons, we are all agreed that moral quality pertains only to exercises;" "Yes, only we differ as to where they come from."

Since the appearance of this more recent scheme of metaphysical theology, efforts most strenuous and unsparing have been made to lead the public to believe that in its leading principles, it was sanctioned and taught not only by Hopkins and Emmons, but by the whole body of leading New England divines, from Edwards down. In particular, the attempt has been made in various and laboured forms, to persuade us that the characteristic features of the theology of these men were—

1. A limitation of moral quality to actual choice, with power of contrary choice at the same moment, and in the same circumstances.

2. As a consequence, plenary ability in fallen man to fulfil all God's commands.

3. That all dispositions, desires, feelings, and principles, lying back of, and uncaused by choice, in the manner afore-

* Works, Vol. IV., p. 371. † Ib., pp. 369, 70.

said, have no moral character, consequently that man cannot be the subject of native, or as Bellamy says, "connatural" sin and guilt, or of holiness infused. We deem all such representations, however intended, in reality a libel upon these luminaries in the church, and a fraud upon the living and the dead, which, as it is a high duty, so it will require but little space, to repel and expose. We grant this recent school whatever "aid and comfort" it can derive from Hopkins and Emmons. This is limited to the single point that moral character is confined to acts. In this particular, however, they were only the heads of a small party, out of sympathy with the prevailing current of opinion in New England, and with those great divines whose writings were most in repute and authority among her ministers and churches. If any divines may be taken as exponents of the prevailing theological sentiment of New England, before the outbreak of recent controversies, they are the elder Edwards, Bellamy, Dwight, and Smalley. The very names of the first three will satisfy our readers as to this. Smalley may be less known. But he elaborated the distinction between moral and natural ability and inability beyond all his predecessors. His writings contributed much to commend it to general acceptance, and were recognized as the completest exposition of New England doctrine in regard to it, while his method of treating theological subjects generally, was reckoned eminently sound and judicious. We propose simply to let these distinguished divines speak for themselves on the points in question.

I. THE POWER OF CONTRARY CHOICE, AND THE NATURE OF NATURAL AND MORAL INABILITY.

EDWARDS. "There are some, who, when they talk of liberty of will as consisting in indifference, express themselves as though they would not be understood to mean the indifference of the *inclination* or tendency of the will, but an indifference of the soul's *power* of willing; or that the will, with respect to its power or ability to choose, is indifferent, can go either way indifferently, either to the right hand or the left, either act or forbear to act, one as well as the other. * * * I wish such refiners would thoroughly consider, whether they

distinctly know their own meaning, when they make a distinction between an indifference of the soul, as to its power and ability of choosing, and the soul's indifference, as to the preference or choice itself; and whether they do not deceive themselves in imagining that they have any distinct meaning at all."

"Surely the will cannot act or choose contrary to a remaining prevalent inclination of the will. * * * It is equally impossible for the will to choose contrary to its own remaining and preponderating present inclination, as it is to *prefer* contrary to its own present *preference*, or *choose* contrary to its own present choice."—*Freedom of the Will, Part II., Sec.* 7.

"We are said to be *naturally* unable to do a thing when we cannot do it if we will, because what is most commonly called *nature* does not allow of it, or because of *some impeding defect or obstacle that is extrinsic to the will;* either in the faculty of understanding, constitution of body, or external objects. *Moral* inability consists not in any of these things, but either in want of inclination, or the strength of a contrary inclination, or the want of sufficient motives in view, to induce and excite the act of will, or the strength of apparent motives to the contrary. Or both these may be resolved into one; and it may be said in one word, that moral inability consists in the opposition or want of inclination.

"To give some instances of this *moral inability:* A woman of great honour and chastity may have a moral inability to prostitute herself to her slave. * * * A great degree of habitual wickedness may lay a man under an inability to love and choose holiness; and render him *utterly unable* to love an infinitely holy Being, or to choose and cleave to him as his chief good."—*Ib., Part I., Sec.* 4.

Bellamy. "Our impotency in one word is not *natural*, but *moral;* and, therefore, instead of *extenuating*, does but *magnify* and *enhance* our fault."*

"If it was the business of the Holy Spirit to give us new natural *faculties*, then we might plead our inability, and plead God's not giving us sufficient power, in excuse for ourselves.

* Works, Vol. I., p. 156.

But since our impotency takes its rise entirely from another quarter, and all our need of the influences of the Holy Spirit to bring us to love God, results from our badness, therefore are we without excuse."*

"If it is not just for God to require of us more than we *can do*, i. e., any more than we have not only a *natural* but a *moral* power to perform, then these things will necessarily follow."†

DWIGHT. "The degree of our inability to obey the divine law does in no case lessen our guilt. Certainly he, who is more disinclined to obedience, is not less guilty than he who is less disinclined. Disinclination to obey is our inability, and our sin. The greater our disinclination is, the greater plainly, not the less is our sin.‡ If there be *no bias* towards either virtue or sin, at the time immediately preceding each of its volitions, and the freedom of each volition arises out of this fact, then certainly, there being no bias either way, the number of virtuous and that of sinful volitions must naturally be equal; and no cause can be assigned, why every man independently of his renovation by the Spirit of God, should be sinful only."

"The freedom of will, and consequently moral agency, in man in this world, is the same with that of *the spirits of just men made perfect in heaven;* the same with that of angels; the same with that of the man Christ Jesus. Whence, then, does it come to pass, that the same moral agency leads, or influences, these beings universally to virtue, and men in this world universally to sin? This question the objectors are bound to answer."§

SMALLEY. "In these discourses, under moral inability to that which is good, is meant to be included all that impotency which consists in *moral depravity;* whether in principle or exercise; whether in privation, that is, the want of moral rectitude only, or in any positive lusts and corruptions; and whether native or contracted; whether removable by moral suasion, or not without a new creation."‖

"The very first idea we can have of sin, is a depraved and

* Bellamy's Works, Vol. I., p. 163.
† Ib., Vol. II., p. 258.
‡ Dwight's Works, Vol. IV., p. 468.
§ Ib., Vol. II., pp. 12, 13.
‖ Smalley on Natural Ability, New York edition, p. 60.

wicked heart; and if this is not a blamable thing *in itself*, there is no danger of finding any thing that is so. * * *

"If the distinction now insisted on was well understood, and clearly kept in view, it would appear in like manner, that a sinner's not being able to change his own heart, is really nothing in his favour. * * * Sinners do not see how it is their own fault, that they have such bad hearts, and do nothing from gracious principles, provided it is not in their own power to alter themselves in this respect. Now if a wicked heart was not a *moral evil*, but a thing of the same nature as a weak head, a bad memory, this would be the case."*

"An ability to act otherwise than agreeably to our own hearts, would only be an ability to act unfreely and by constraint."†

II. WHETHER THE AFFECTIONS AND FEELINGS, TOGETHER WITH THE PRINCIPLES AND DISPOSITIONS WHICH LIE BACK OF, AND GIVE RISE TO ALL MORAL EXERCISES, HAVE MORAL CHARACTER, AND ARE IN A SENSE VOLUNTARY.

EDWARDS. "True religion, in great part, consists in holy affections."

"The affections are no other than the more vigorous and *sensible exercises of the inclination and will of the soul.*‡

"It is agreeable to the sense of men, in all nations and ages, not only that the fruit or effect of a good choice is virtuous, but that the good choice itself from whence that effect proceeds is so; yea, also the antecedent good disposition, temper, or affection of mind, from whence proceeds that *good* choice, is virtuous. * * * A virtuous disposition of mind may be before a virtuous act of choice; and therefore it is not necessary there should first be thought, reflection and choice, before there can be any virtuous disposition."§

One of the most remarkable attempts in the whole history of polemics, has been made to parry the force of this and other like declarations of this wonderful man, by representing him as here inconsistent with himself; and especially by alleging that his maturer views on the subject are to be found in his Disser-

* Smalley on Natural Ability, New York edition, pp. 63, 4.
† Ib., p. 77. ‡ Works, Vol. V., pp. 9, 10. § Ib., Vol. II., p. 407.

tation on the Nature of Virtue, and are contradictory to the foregoing. Never have we seen a more gratuitous plea in serious argument. It is perfectly clear that it was no part of Edwards's purpose to treat of the will in this essay. Nor has he written a syllable in it, in contradiction of the positions he had laid down in works, in which he treated of it *ex professo.* We can conceive no reason why this attempt has been made upon this production, unless because Old Calvinists in common with a multitude besides, have been generally dissatisfied with it. But their dissatisfaction has no reference to questions of this sort. It refers to the main position of the essay, with respect to the nature, the foundation of moral obligations, and is based on reasons which we have partially indicated on previous pages. It has been alleged that because he holds that virtue consists in *benevolence*, therefore he held that it consists exclusively in *acts* of will. Any of his treatises affords as good premises for such a conclusion. If he held that virtue consists in benevolence, is this any proof that he did not hold that it lies in principles and dispositions, as well as acts? Or that such principles might not be native or infused as well as acquired? But let us go to the record. In the Dissertation under consideration, he says, "When it is inquired, what is the nature of true *virtue?* This is the same as to inquire what it is that renders any *habit*, *disposition* or *exercise* of the heart truly beautiful?"* "A *principle* of general benevolence softens and sweetens the mind, &c."† Now we will cite his own definition of principle and disposition.

"By a *principle of nature* in this place, I mean that foundation which is laid in nature, either old or new, for any particular manner or kind of exercise of the faculties of the soul; or a natural habit or foundation of action, giving a person ability and disposition to exert the faculties in exercises of such a certain kind; so that to exert the faculties in that kind of exercises, may be said to be his nature. * * * The new, holy disposition of heart that attends this new sense, is not a new *faculty* of will, but a *foundation* laid in the nature of the soul, for a new kind of exercises of the same faculty of will."‡

* Works, Vol. III., p. 94. † Ib., p. 147. ‡ Ib., Vol. V., pp. 102, 3.

Bellamy. "As Adam was created in the image of God, to prepare him for holy acts and exercises of heart, so the same image is restored in regeneration, to prepare us for the first holy act. As there was a holy principle in Adam before the first holy act, so there is a holy principle in the regenerate sinner before the first holy act.*

"The idea of spiritual beauty supposes an internal spiritual sense communicated to the soul by the Spirit of God."†

Dwight. "*These* (amiable natural characteristics) *and all other qualities of the mind are, however, means either of virtue or sin, according to the nature of that controlling disposition, or energy,* WHICH CONSTITUTES THE MORAL CHARACTER. By this disposition or energy, I intend *that unknown cause, whence it arises, that the actions of the mind are either sinful or virtuous.*"‡

"The divine law originally requires nothing but affection."§

"Regeneration is a change of the *temper, or disposition,* or, in other words, of the heart of man; and by consequence of his whole character. The heart is the great controlling power of a rational being—the whole of that energy by which he is moved to action. The moral nature of this power, therefore, will be the moral nature of the man."‖

"This disposition of Adam, existing antecedently to every volition, was the real cause why his volitions subsequently existing, were virtuous. It ought to be remarked here, that plain men, with truth, as well as with good sense, ascribe all the volitions of mankind to *disposition,* the very thing here intended, as their true cause.

"In regeneration, the very same thing is done by the Spirit of God for the soul, which was done for *Adam* by the same divine Agent at his creation. The soul of *Adam* was *created* with a relish for spiritual objects. The soul of every man who becomes a Christian is *renewed* by the communication of the same relish."¶

"God created man in his own image; in the image of God

* Works, Vol. III., p. 334.
† Ib., Vol. II., p. 503.
‡ Works, Vol. I., p. 527.
§ Ib., Vol. IV., p. 460.
‖ Ib., Vol. III., p. 75.
¶ Ib., p. 64.

created he him. In a former discourse I have shown, that the likeness or image, here mentioned, is the *moral image of God*, consisting, especially, *in* knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness, as we are informed by St. Paul."*

When Dr. Dwight says, "man is the actor of his own sin,"† he in no manner contradicts the foregoing doctrines, which are ingrained into his whole theology, but is simply denying the doctrine of Emmons, that sinful acts are directly created by God, as the context proves.

SMALLEY. "It is agreeable to common sense, and seems plainly supposed in several texts and doctrines of Scripture, that depravity of nature must be antecedent to all sinful actions and the cause of them. But if so, there may be a *wicked* heart prior to knowledge. * * * Both the first and second creation unto good works, spoken of in Scripture, necessarily suppose that there may be holiness in man, prior to his having any actual perception or exercises; and why not sin, as well, prior to all acts of sin? * * * We know as well what a good or bad disposition is, prior to virtuous or vicious exercises, as we do what reason is, prior to rational actions. * * * Were not an ungovernable inclination to iniquity criminal in its own nature, it would excuse whatever it necessarily occasions, as much as any other innocent cause does, its unavoidable effects. But if a depraved disposition be a moral evil—a culpable thing, then he who hath it may justly be condemned for it, before he has time to act at all."‡

III. NATIVE DISPOSITIONS SINFUL.

EDWARDS. "*By original sin*, as the phrase has been most commonly used by divines, is meant the *innate sinful depravity of the heart.*"§ "We may well argue from hence that infants are not sinless, but are by nature children of wrath, seeing this terrible evil comes on mankind at this early period. But besides the mortality of infants in general, there are some particular cases,"‖ &c.

"The things which have been said, obviate some of the chief objections of *Arminians* against the *Calvinistic* doctrine

* Works, Vol. II., p. 7.
† Ib., Vol. I., p. 460.
‡ Smalley's Sermons, Hartford edition, pp. 188–90.
§ Works, Vol. II., p. 309.
‖ Ib., p. 402.

of the *total depravity and corruption of man's nature*, whereby his heart is wholly under the power of sin, and he is utterly unable, without the interposition of sovereign grace, savingly to love God, believe in Christ, or do anything that is truly acceptable in his sight."—*Freedom of the Will, Part IV., Sec.* 14.

Edwards doubtless understood his own purpose in this treatise, as well as the modern impugners of the doctrines he designed it to fortify.

Bellamy. "Adam was considered not merely as a single private person, but as a public head and representative, standing in the room of all his posterity; and considered in this capacity, was he threatened with *death* in case he sinned; and considered in this capacity, was *natural death* denounced upon him after his fall. So that in both his posterity were equally included; and therefore St. Paul calls Adam a *type of Christ*."* "We are, in fact, born like the wild ass's colt, as senseless of God, and as void and destitute of grace; we have *nature*, but no grace; a *taste* for *natural good*, but no *relish* for *moral beauty;* an *appetite* for *happiness*, but *no appetite* for *holiness.* * * * We are *natively diametrically opposed to it* (the law of God) *in the temper of our hearts.* * * * These propensities, perhaps, in some sense, may be said to be *contracted*, in opposition to their being strictly and philosophically *natural*, because they are not created by God with the essence of the soul, but result from its native choice, or rather more strictly, are themselves its native choice. * * * They are not *natural* in the same sense as the *faculties* of our souls are, for they are not the workmanship of God, but our native choice, and the voluntary, free, spontaneous bent of our hearts. And to keep up this distinction, I frequently use the word *native* instead of *natural*."† "Choice" here is clearly used in the sense of "spontaneous bent," *i. e.*, disposition or principle. See *Works*, Vol. III., p. 334, already quoted.

"As to our sentiments touching total depravity, works done by unregenerate man, and the sovereignty of divine grace in the conversion of sinners, we profess to agree with the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. And you know, that their

* Works, Vol. I., p. 315. † Ib., Vol. I., pp. 200–202.

Confession of Faith, and Larger and Shorter Catechisms, are adopted by the Church of Scotland as their test of orthodoxy; and are much the same with the Savoy Confession of Faith, which is adopted, in general, by the churches in Massachusetts and Connecticut."*

DWIGHT. "With these facts in view, we are compelled to one of these conclusions: either that infants are *contaminated in their moral nature*, and born in the likeness of apostate Adam; a fact irresistibly proved, so far as the most unexceptionable analogy can prove anything, by the depraved conduct of every infant, who lives so long as to be capable of moral action; or that God inflicts these sufferings on moral beings who are perfectly innocent. I leave the alternative to the choice of those who object against this doctrine."†

SMALLEY. "The mortality of mankind, in every period of life, is full proof of their being sinners from their birth."‡ "There may be good nature, or ill nature; a holy or an unholy temper of mind, in a man when he is in the most profound sleep; and is as unknowing and inactive as an unborn infant."§

"There may be a wicked heart prior to knowledge. * * * This may be in us, as early as we have human souls."‖

But it is time to bring these citations, which might be indefinitely multiplied, to a close. The evidence is cumulative and irresistible, that the attempt to turn these great lights of the Church into patrons of the modern Pelagian speculations, which assert in man a plenary power of contrary choice, a plenary ability to do works acceptable to God, without grace, and which deny either that the dispositions, or that the affections possess moral character, or that man is sinful from birth, is one of the most amazing pieces of strategy ever recorded in the annals of polemic theology.¶

* Works, Vol. III., p. 428. † Ib., Vol. II., p. 13.
‡ Sermons, p. 172. § Ib., p. 190. ‖ Ib., p. 168.

¶ Perhaps, however, our readers will cease to wonder, when we tell them that a complimentary notice of the book under review has already appeared, (in the Portland Christian Mirror for Nov. 16,) in which the writer appears most of all pleased, that in it, as he understands it, Dr. Alexander confines moral quality to acts! It is supposed to be from a theological teacher, whose known character forbids the suspicion that he intended any unfairness. Thus strangely do men's

The inherent good or ill-desert of inward dispositions to good or evil respectively, has been believed in by all unsophisticated men. This belief is a part of the intuitive convictions, and is implied in the language of the whole human race. Once admit this, and the great argument against a sinful native depravity vanishes, and that doctrine is impregnably confirmed by Scripture and undeniable facts. It is a part of the faith of the Christian Church, as shown in her creeds, rites, literature and devotions. Notwithstanding the incessant rationalistic assaults upon it, we are persuaded that no other disposal of the subject can so well be vindicated at the bar of reason even, in view of the undeniable facts which objectors themselves are compelled to admit. The least objectionable variation from the orthodox doctrine, is that of those advocates of the "exercise scheme," who, denying inborn sinful propensities back of action, assert that men are complete moral agents, and so actual sinners, from birth. But no doctrine, conditioned on the belief that infants are complete moral agents, can widely or permanently prevail. The men are too few who can be persuaded to believe it. The speedy consequence of basing the doctrine of native sinfulness on this hypothesis, was the utter rejection of the doctrine in many quarters where this resolution of the subject prevailed. Indeed we cannot help thinking that the advocates of this view must have some inward misgivings after all, as to the theory that moral character pertains to acts only. Dr. Pond, in a recent article, in which he argues the doctrine of the sinfulness of infants with great success, nevertheless contends that they have no sin but actual sin, and that they have this from birth. In answer to the question, whether the infant can also repent, he says, it may undergo such a change that "it will have the *element* of repentance, though not perhaps, the precise form of it. It has that which *will be* repentance the

theories distort their interpretations of other men's language. After the extracts we have given from Dr. Alexander on these points, and the known fact that he laboured all his life in opposition to the doctrines here attributed to him, it is indeed strange that a candid and intelligent man should understand him to advocate them. If this is possible, we need no longer wonder that heated partisans understand Edwards, Bellamy, and Dwight to have been its decided and earnest defenders.

moment it comes to a sight and sense of its sins."* How much this differs from a principle of repentance distinct from, and prior to, and the source of, acts of repentance, we are glad that we are not bound to show.

Another solution of the case is the Pelagian and Socinian, that man is not really fallen, and that before moral agency begins, or that with regard to all that lies back of volition, his soul is in its pure, normal state. This is so palpably contradictory to all facts, that it could never command extensive and permanent support.

A third method of treating the subject, which has always found numerous adherents, denies moral character to all but acts, while it asserts that men uniformly sin, and only sin, from the commencement of moral agency, till conversion; and that this is owing to a disordered and vitiated moral nature, which yet (because it is not an act, nor series of acts, nor the fruit thereof,) is neither sinful nor guilty. But although thus sinless, these men say, "still this nature is so odious in itself, and so pernicious in its influence, that our emotions often prompt us to stigmatize it as sin!"† If that within us, which is "so odious in itself," that our moral sense often prompts us "to stigmatize it as sin," is to be exculpated as blameless, we are in little danger of finding sin anywhere. Besides, how, on this theory, can we account for the sufferings and death of infants? Why, under the administration of a righteous God, should the "wages of sin" be inflicted upon them, if they are sinless?

A fourth view of the subject is thus presented. Says a recent writer,‡ "It is impossible, without destroying the attribute of justice in God, to hold that any *guilt* attaches to original sin, previous to the actual choice of transgression; unless there is also held a doctrine, which New England rejects as a foul and fatal error, the doctrine of 'one baptism for the remission of sins.'" This position is the weakest that we have yet seen taken on the subject. If baptism procures "the remission of sin," then there is antecedent sin and guilt

* Bibliotheca Sacra., Oct. 1852, p. 759.

† Bib. Sacra, July, 1851, p. 627.

‡ Church Review, Oct. 1852; Art. New England Theology.

to be remitted. It exists in all before baptism, and in all who do not receive baptism. These constitute a vast majority of our race. If this in itself is contrary to the justice of God, then baptism cannot make it otherwise. God has provided no ordinances of grace, as a remedy for his own injustice. They all imply the utter sinfulness of man, and the perfect rectitude of the Almighty. According to the Articles of the Episcopal, and all other Christian churches, the corruption of man's nature, "deserveth God's wrath and damnation." No other view of the subject agrees with Scripture or undeniable facts.*

If we have succeeded in showing the vital connection between moral science and Christian theology, and that this important work of Dr. Alexander forcibly exhibits the truth on the subject, we need not add that we hope it will be not only extensively used as a text-book for teaching the science, but that it will prove a welcome addition to the libraries of ministers, theologians, and all who are interested in the high subjects of which it treats.

* A standing difficulty in the minds of all classes of objectors to the doctrine of original sin appears to be, that it makes God the author of sin. They present it indeed in innumerable forms. But "to this complexion" they all come at last. We need not say, that all advocates of the doctrine but those who, like Emmons, make sin a direct creation of God, regard sin as a negative thing, arising from a *privative* cause, as darkness from the withdrawment of light. It is not the effect of God's presence or agency in the soul; but of his withdrawment from it, on account of the sin of the first parent and representative of the race. The effect of this withdrawment is, that the inferior principles of nature become ascendant, and thus inordinate and depraved. So Augustine, Edwards, Bellamy, Smalley, and the whole *consensus* of Calvinistic confessions. With one consent they repudiate the idea, that God is the author of sin, or interferes with the freedom of the human will. Their words are, "God, from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own *will*, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass; yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away; but rather established."—*Westminster and Savoy Confessions.*

ART. II.—*Epistola ad Diognetum, Justini Philosophi et Martyris nomen præ se ferens. Textum recensuit, translatione Latina instruxit, prolegomena et adnotationes adjecit*, Joan. Carol. Theod. Otto. Leipsick, 1852, 8vo., pp. 131.

WE cannot easily forget the delight with which we first perused the Epistle to Diognetus. It came to us as an exquisite specimen of the sentiment and religion of an early period, much more vital than the heavy controversies of the day, and rather resembling the short epistles of the apostles and apostolic fathers. Yet we could name few works in patristic literature, to which reference is less frequently made.

The critical edition of the Epistle to Diognetus, by Professor Otto, is well worthy of attention. An early publication of the editor on this subject, appeared in 1845. A few years after, the great and learned Bunsen, now Prussian ambassador at London, intimated in his volume on Ignatius, that he would issue a monograph on this epistle, which he ascribes to Marcion. In 1851, Hoffman edited the Greek text, with a translation and notes. Otto saw reason to come forward with a new and enlarged edition of the work, which is now before us. Availing ourselves of his aid, and acknowledging the value of his careful apparatus, we shall express some thoughts on this most interesting relic.

The Epistle to Diognetus is in the Greek language, and fills about ten pages like those we here employ. The work has generally been ascribed to Justin Martyr, and published with his writings. It purports to be a letter to a Gentile inquirer, of rank and learning, for the purpose of showing what Christianity is. It begins therefore, by showing on what grounds the Christian rejects the ritual of the Jews and the idolatry of the Greeks. Without philosophical subtilty, and with great earnestness, the writer inveighs against image-worship. From this he proceeds to censure the sacrifices and festivals of the Jews; which, indeed, is one of the characteristic points of the whole composition. Having thus cleared the way, he describes Christianity as a phenomenon then extant in the world, and shows that it makes little of externals, but influences the heart, man-

ners and life. The picture here given is a celebrated portion of the work. He indicates the source of this remarkable system as divine, and as proceeding from a descent and incarnation of the Divine Wisdom. After a dark view of the state of mankind before the coming of the Son of God, he magnifies this great communication, and breaks out into praises of the love of God and the atoning work of Christ. To these are added two closing paragraphs, which are not regarded as genuine.

From the subject we pass to the text of this ancient work. Three codices only are known to exist. These are the Strasburg manuscript, the apograph of Stephanus, and the apograph of Beurer.

The Strasburg manuscript is a *bombycinus*, of 260 folios. It contains several acknowledged works of Justin, and then 5°· τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Διόγνητον; followed by one or two tracts in another hand, and by a few treatises, some of which are in the first hand. The older part of the codex, and that which contains our epistle, was executed in the thirteenth century. It was once the property of the celebrated Reuchlin, as appears by his autograph in the reverse of the board cover. Then it fell into the hands of the monks of the abbey of Maursmünster in Alsace. During the wars of the French Revolution, it was brought to Strasburg. Mice have nested in it, and devoured large portions of the second part. Otto quotes a letter from Cunitz, an eminent theologian of Strasburg, who says, that the character is generally careful and uniform, but that many illegible places exist; further, that the agreement is striking with the apograph of Beurer.

The apograph of Beurer is preserved in the public library of Leyden. It once belonged to Isaac Vossius. The librarian, Mr. Jacobus Geel, expresses his belief that this manuscript (Cod. Vossian. 30) is the same which Henry Stephanus copied from some unknown original, and used in his edition of of 1592; that the handwriting is that of Stephanus; and that certain marginal notes are the same which appear in printed editions by this editor. Dr. Van Hengel of Leyden concurs in these opinions. In the judgment of Otto this copy could not have been made from the MS. now at Strasburg.

The apograph of Beurer, the only remaining codex com-

prises the Oration to the Gentiles, as well as this epistle. Beurer, a professor of Freiburg, in the Breisgau, gave a version, with some emendations of lection, repeated by Stephanus, who used this copy. Stephanus avers, that he and Beurer copied the same manuscript, ("sed ego ante illum;") but if so, either the transcript was very inexact, or Beurer collated some other. For Beurer often fills lacunæ in Stephanus's copy, with the very words which are found in the Strasburg codex; and there are readings which altogether vary from those of Stephanus.

The first edition of the Epistle to Diognetus was that of Henry Stephanus. It was a quarto, printed at Paris in 1592. The work was set forth as Justin's. The other impressions were all indebted to this *editio princeps.* The Epistle was contained in the Heidelberg edition of Justin, by Franciscus Sylburg, fol. 1593; in that of Morel, fol. Paris, 1615; and again 1636, and at Cologne, 1686; in that of Maran, fol. Paris, (or the Hague,) 1742, and Venice, 1747; in Galland's Bibliotheca, fol. Venice, 1765; in Oberthur's Greek Fathers, Wurzburg, 1779; in Olshausen's Collection, Berlin, 1822; in Bœhl's Opuscula, Berlin, 1826; in Hefele's Apostolic Fathers, Tübingen, 1839; and in Grenfell's Collection, London, 1844. By the aid of the Strasburg codex, Otto prepared a new recension, for an edition of Justin's works, at Jena, 1843 and 1849. This is employed by Hefele in his third edition.

A translation of the Epistle to Diognetus was made into Latin by Stephanus, which was adopted by Sylburg, Morell, and others; and, with emendations by Maran, Galland, Caillau, and Guillon. Hefele and Otto both offer new versions. There are several German translations, and one into French. Large parts appear in the English of Lardner.

There was a long period, during which no man of learning ventured to ascribe this remarkable epistle to any other than Justin, so that Bishop Ball did not hesitate to say, "Ea epistola quin Justini sit genuina nemo doctus, (quod scio,) hodie dubitat." The first denial proceeded from that learned Jansenist and acute critic, Tillemont. In this he was followed by such men as Le Nourry, Oudin, Roncaglia, Baratier, Orsi, Lardner, Galland, and Lumper. Other and graver objec-

tions chiefly doctrinal, were adduced by Mœhler, Bœhl, von Grossheim, Herbig, Permaneder, Hefele, Grenfell, and others. Semisch has a monograph on the question. The other side, however, did not lack defenders; and the authorship was claimed for Justin by Tentzel, Basnage, Fabricius, Remy-Ceillier, Cotta, Kestner, Baumgarten-Crusius, Lange, Rudelbach, and Hoffmann.

Lardner, who is always judicious, condenses much argument into the following sentences: "The epistle to Diognetus is generally supposed to be Justin's, though it is doubted by some, because the style is more elegant than that of his other pieces. For my own part, I cannot persuade myself to quote it as Justin's; since the style is allowed to be superior to his, and there is no mention made of it by Eusebius or Jerome. It would indeed be to my purpose to suppose it genuine, because it has more reference to St. Paul's epistles than all the other works of Justin. But this is another exception, it not being very usual for Justin to express himself in the style of the New Testament, as this writer does. Nor can there be any particular reason for it in this epistle, written to a Gentile, and not to a Christian. And how can any one pretend to ascribe to any author a small piece, not mentioned among his works by the ancients, different from the ordinary style of all his other allowed pieces, when there is no character in the title or conclusion to determine whose it is? Tillemont, who is sensible the style is abundantly superior to Justin's, endeavours to prove it more ancient, and written before the destruction of Jerusalem. These arguments are fully confuted by Basnage, who is willing to think the epistle genuine. The Christians, before the writing of this epistle, had suffered several persecutions; which could not be said of them before Jerusalem was destroyed. It is an excellent epistle. And, as at the time of writing it, the Christians were in a suffering condition, it must have been written before the time of Constantine. I think, therefore, that the author of it is some anonymous ancient Christian writer, whose age cannot be exactly settled."*

From some community of subject and of style with some of

* Lardner's Works, 4to ed., I. 342.

Justin's, the letter came to be ascribed to him, and the only manuscript was mingled with his works. This is no more than a high conjectural presumption; not it is true of Stephanus, but of earlier critics. Fabricius supposed that the copy in the Leyden library attributes the epistle to Amphilochius the bishop. Of the several tracts in the volume, the first does indeed bear the name of that author, who was the biographer of Basil; but this has no application to the case in hand. Oudin and others rest on the fact, that neither Eusebius nor Jerome names this among Justin's writings. We must indeed admit that Eusebius says there are other works, and that Jerome borrows entirely from him on this subject.

The arguments from internal tokens are more extensive. Tillemont urges that the writer calls himself "a disciple of the apostles." But Otto sees nothing in this which might not have been said by Justin. The same author alleges the designation of Christianity, as "a new thing." But it is replied, that the same language is used by Tertullian, and even by Eusebius. It is further maintained, that it must have been written while the temple-service was still existing. But Otto shows that the same argument may be applied to like expressions of Justin and Josephus.

It is asserted with confidence, that the doctrines of this epistle vary from those of Justin. Otto, following and quoting Muenscher, explodes this, as a canon of criticism altogether unsafe, and adds a reply drawn from the custom of the fathers to argue κατ' οἰκονομιὰν. One of the doctrinal discrepancies is this: Justin treats the gods of the Gentiles as existing demons; our author derides them as mere idols. But Otto asserts that either view might, on suitable occasions, be justly taken, without inconsistency, and compares parallel places from other writers. Another difference concerns the view taken of the Jewish rites. Here we touch upon one of the grand characteristics of the composition; and one which stands in strong contrast with the opinions expressed on the same point, and in great detail, in the celebrated Dialogue with Trypho. The opponents of the genuineness maintain that our author, in his third chapter, places the Jewish sacrifices on the same footing with those of the heathen; suggesting that

they were not of divine institution, but invented by men. Justin, on the other hand, admits to Trypho, that these were prescribed by God. This argument of Semisch and others is certainly very cogent. The most that can be done in reply, is to call attention to the alleged gist of the controversy in the Epistle. The question, say they, is not as to the origin or authority of sacrifices, but as to the erroneous opinion held by the Jews in regard to their intrinsic validity. Our author admits that the Jews are less faulty than the Gentiles; but urges that, in this respect, namely the force of sacrifices, they coincide with them; as if God stood in need of such oblations. This notion he derides with much keenness. But this very course of argument is pursued by Justin himself, in replying to Trypho. In like manner a discrepance is alleged between the teachings of the fourth chapter, concerning circumcision, holy-days, and the distinction of meats, on one hand, and the acknowledged doctrine of Justin, on the other. And the reply is analogous to the one just recited. To the Jew, the rule of decision was the Old Testament; to the gentile Diognetus, the rule was common reason. From the light of nature the Jewish rites are considered, according to their appearance.

But other diversities arise on examination, and in regard to a subject no less important than the person and offices of Christ. We shall here abstract the clear account of the learned editor. Semisch is constrained to admit, that in his general view of the person of Christ, our author agrees with Justin, while, as he maintains, he dissents from him in particulars. The place chiefly cited is the glowing and sublime one, which may be found below in our version of the seventh chapter, "But he truly, the Sovereign and Creator of all and the invisible God, himself from the heavens placed among men the truth, and the holy and incomprehensible Logos, and implanted him in their hearts," &c. Here Semisch maintains that Justin could never have said that God did not send "an angel" or "a prince;" since he expressly describes the Son as a "servant," "angel," and "prince." But the different connection in which these assertions are respectively made, ought to solve the difficulty. The point urged is, that God sent, not an inferior

nature, but the Logos, nearest to himself; not ὑπηρέτην τινὰ, but αὐτὸν τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων. Justin Martyr never describes the Logos as a servant. Arguing against the Jews, he sets forth the Word, as numerically diverse from the Father, but not in *will*, (*Dial. c. Tr. c.* 56.) The word ἄγγελος has two two significations, one of which is used in one treatise, and one in the other. The word ἄρχων is obviously ambiguous in the same degree. Some of the other objections of Semisch, on this head, are verbal, and almost puerile. An unbiassed reader will acknowledge with pleasure that the expressions of both works are explicable on no hypothesis but the sound and catholic one; and that the seeming contradictions in the language are only such as may be found in Scripture itself. But while this particular argument does not appear well sustained, it still remains to be proved, that the writer of the Dialogue and of the Epistle are one and the same person. There are certain lesser discrepancies, which have been sought out with much ingenuity and labour, but which would overburden an article of such limits as ours.

The stronghold, however, of those who attack the genuineness of the Epistle to Diognetus, is the style of the performance. This, it is generally admitted, is more elegant than that of Justin in his acknowledged works. At the same time, there are those who assert a diversity of the same sort between the *Cohortatio ad Gentiles* and the rest. Indeed, both this and the treatise on the Resurrection have been denied to Justin, on the same ground. It is declared by scholars, that in the Apologies and the Dialogue the diction is less elevated, the order of propositions is confused, and the structure of sentences is loose. To the Epistle, on the other hand, has been universally conceded the merit of graceful ease and polished elegance.

Professor Otto indicates passages in the Apologies and the Dialogue, in which Justin Martyr rises above his common level, to something of oratorial pomp. (*Apol.* I. c. 14; *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 12, c. 13, c. 29, c. 113.) But the Epistle, he adds, shines in almost every part with flowers of rhetoric, and especially with felicity o antithesis. Against this it is said, that Justin may have written the Epistle soon after his becoming a Chris-

tian; and that the style of many great authors is known to vary considerably in different periods of their lives. It is supposed, therefore, that as he advanced in the Christian profession, he deliberately abandoned those ornaments which savoured of the Gentile schools. This reasoning would have more weight if the decorations of the Epistle were meretricious; on the contrary, they are such as endure the touchstone of a severe criticism. Nor do we find any analogous change in the style of Tertullian, Cyprian, or Augustine, not to mention the lofty eloquence of Basil and Chrysostom. It is suggested by Otto, that in the Apologies the Martyr was occupied with grief for the sufferings of his brethren; but in writing to Diognetus, was inflamed to enthusiasm by the hope of making an important convert. To pronounce upon a question which has thus divided the learned world would scarcely become us; we venture, however, to express our remaining doubts as to the Justinian origin of the Epistle.

Guericke considers the unknown author of the Epistle as less orthodox than Justin. Von Cœlln, Von Grossheim, Neander, and Schwegler, discern in it an antijudaic leaven, savouring of gnostic error. Yet Neander speaks with caution: "However nothing properly gnostic is found in the Epistle;" and Schwegler adds: "The remainder of the Epistle is truly Christian."

It is a singular conjecture of the Chevalier Bunsen, which attributes the work to no less distinguished a personage than Marcion the heretic. As far back as 1847, this great scholar promised to treat more fully of this point. He has probably done so in his late English work on Hippolytus and Hegesippus, which, to our regret, we have not been able to obtain in time.* Otto, in the Leipsick Repertorium for 1852, gives a summary of arguments which may be alleged for confirmation of this opinion; as the endeavour to make religion tend to improve the life (c. 5, 6); the devoted reverence for Paul's writings; the opposition to Judaism; the representation of Christianity as a new religion; the absolute goodness ascribed to God (c. 8); and the view taken of God as altogether unknown, till manifested in Christ. In like manner Marcion, as

* London, 1852, 4 vols., 8vo.

quoted by Tertullian: "Deus per semetipsum revelatus est in Christo Jesu."

But such arguments, the editor justly adds, are of small avail. There is scarcely a Catholic writer by whom similar things have not been said, and Professor Otto shows this particularly as true in regard to Justin, by citations from his works. Opinions peculiar to Marcion, moreover, are wanting here, though every occasion was offered for announcing them. Again, there are those things present which tend to silence the conjecture. Marcion restricts the notion of justice; the Epistle makes it an essential attribute. Marcion rejects the Old Testament; the Epistle makes use of it. Marcion repudiates the gospel of John as judaic; our author quotes both the gospel and the epistles. If Marcion wrote the work, therefore, it must have been when his gnosticism was as yet inchoate.

From what has preceded, it will be sufficiently apparent how hard is the task of determining the date of this beautiful composition. It is pleasing to observe that almost all who deny it to Justin, place it at a time earlier than his. As we have hinted, Tillemont would place it as early as the first century. Others give it an early date, without venturing on particularity. Galland, indeed, imagines that it was the work of Apollos, who was "an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures." Baratier ascribes it to Clemént; a puerile supposition, as the style is totally unlike. "There is an entiré absence of proof," says Grenfell, "that either Apollos or Clement was its author." Mœhler would refer it to the reign of Trajan, and Permaneder and Bœhl to times immediately subsequent to the apostolic age. Such conjectures as these contribute to invest this brief production with more than ordinary interest; and we no longer wonder that Hefele should publish it among the apostolical fathers.

There is however, an argument against so early a date, which, so far as we know, is original with Professor Otto. It is that the writer of the Epistle quotes from almost all the books of the New Testament, or makes such allusions as indicate acquaintance with them. He must have lived then, in an age in which all the books had been collected and were read in the churches; that is, not later than the time of Justin, who was

the first to make use of all the New Testament books. It is further to be observed, that at the time of this composition, Christians were very widely dispersed, and were clearly distinguished from the Jews (c. 5 and 6). Zeller thinks it belongs to a later part of the century. Cœlln, Semisch, and Tzschirner refer it to the age of Justin.

Amidst the uncertainties which surround the date, it would obviously be unwise to speak with an air of decision as to the person to whom this singular Epistle is addressed. Jortin hazarded the conjecture, that it was a mere rhetorical exercise, and not a communication to a real person. The grounds for this opinion have no solidity; such license would introduce a fatal insecurity into all criticism of ancient documents. Till some adverse proof can be adduced, we must take the writing upon the face of it, as having been addressed to the person whose name it carries. The same rash judgment has been pronounced on the works of Justin, and other patristical writers; but this would open a way for all the vagaries of Hardouin. It has been aptly observed by Tzschirner and Otto, that those times of persecution and earnestness were not the days for rhetorical fictions.

The name Diognetus was frequent in antiquity. Omitting those which Otto has gathered from periods anterior to Christianity, we find a Diognetus at Athens, during the reign of Tiberius Claudius. Another has been discovered of later date, in a lapidary inscription. But it really seems vain to grope in a region of such utter darkness.

A few words seem to be necessary, respecting the closing part of the epistle as now extant, which we shall indicate below, by enclosing it in brackets. Henry Stephanus, with that critical acumen which he possessed in so high a degree, expressed his suspicion that this addendum is supposititious. In this opinion he has been followed by Sylburgius, Tillemont, Bœhl, Grossheim, and Semler. Of external arguments, the chief is, that the Strasburg codex has at this place the gloss, καὶ ὧδε ἐγκοπὴν εἶχε τὸ ἀντίγραφον, and this portion begins after a considerable space in the manuscript. Of internal arguments, it is alleged that these chapters have no natural articulation with what precedes. The quasi apology for prying into mys-

teries, follows badly after so simple a discourse. Then the mystical incomprehensibilities concerning gnosis and life, are altogether alien from the genius of the original writer. The former part contains replies to inquiries of Diognetus; but the latter assumes to be uttered in compliance with some injunction of the Logos. The style is, moreover, so unlike that of what precedes, as to cause an instant revulsion in every reader of taste; it is both turgid and obscure. There seems therefore, to be little risk in pronouncing the last two chapters spurious.

If any should inquire how this incongruous portion came to be appended; we might reply with Bœhl, that it was done through the negligence or ignorance of the transcriber. Such cases are not rare in diplomatic history. Or we might ascribe it to a pious fraud, such as has loaded the names of the greatest fathers with similar burdens. Some officious writer, of greater zeal than ability, may have deemed the conclusion abrupt, and have sought to eke it out by somewhat expressive of his individual opinions. There is a shadow of internal evidence that this addition is of a much later date. The wealth and exaltation of the Church, in chapter XII., point to a period of prosperity. The citation of Paul, as "the apostle," absolutely savours of a later age, and is unusual in early writings. The mention of tapers fixes the date as not earlier than the third century. Otto recognizes in the continuator a moderate Alexandrian Gnostic, of the class which adhered to substantial orthodoxy.

We shall now attempt a translation of the whole Epistle. In seeking to keep close to the original, we shall necessarily sacrifice most of that classical grace which has awakened admiration among all judges of the original. But our object will be attained, if the English reader shall be awakened to any interest in this pleasing morsel of antiquity.

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.

"I. Forasmuch as I see, most excellent Diognetus, that thou art exceedingly eager to learn the religious worship of the Christians, and that thy inquiries concerning them are made with clearness and precision, in order to discover in what deity they confide, and in what way they

render service, so as all to contemn the world and despise death; while they neither esteem those gods which are so regarded by the Greeks, nor observe the superstition of the Jews; also, the tender affection which they bear to one another, and moreover why this new kind or institution came into being now, and no earlier; I applaud thee for this earnestness, and pray God who furnishes the ability, both of speaking and hearing, that to me it may be granted so to speak that he who hears may be made better, and to thee so to hear that he who speaks may not be grieved.

"II. Come, then, having purged thyself from all thoughts preoccupying the mind, and having cast off deceptive custom, and being made as it were from the beginning a new man, as one about to be the hearer of a new doctrine, which you have yourself avowed: behold, not merely with the eyes, but with the understanding, what is the form or substance of those which you call and esteem gods. Is not one a stone, like what we tread on; and one brass, no better than the vessels forged for our use; and one wood, already decayed; and one silver, needing a man to watch that it be not stolen; and one iron, corrupted by rust; and one earthen, nowise more seemly than what is prepared for the vilest service? Are not all these of corruptible matter? Are they not all made by the help of steel and fire? Did not the sculptor make one, the brazier another, the silversmith a third, and the potter a fourth? Before they were framed into these shapes by the arts of those men, was not each of them thrown into shape, and that even now, by its respective artificer? Could not the vessels which now are of the same matter, if they met with the same workmen, be made like such as these? And again, those which are now worshipped by you, could they not by men be made vessels like the rest? Are they not all deaf? All blind? All lifeless? All void of sense? All motionless? All corruptible? All corrupting? These ye name gods, these ye serve, these ye worship; and ye become altogether like them. It is for this that ye hate the Christians, because they do not

deem them gods. But ye, who think and deem them such, do ye not despise them more than they? Do ye not much more mock and deride them, worshipping without a guard those of stone or earthenware, but shutting up the gold and silver ones at night, and sometimes setting a watch by day, lest they should be stolen? You rather punish them by the honours which you appear to render them, if they have perception; but if they are senseless, defiling them with blood and fat, ye worship them. Let any one of yourselves endure this! Let any one suffer himself to be thus treated! But not a man would willingly submit to such a penalty, for he has sense and reason; but the stone suffers it, because senseless. Of a truth ye demonstrate it to be senseless. In regard then, to the freedom of Christians from servitude to such gods, I would say many and other things; but if, to any, these do not seem sufficient, I think it superfluous to say more.

"III. In the next place, I suppose thee to desire much to hear concerning their divine worship being different from that of the Jews. The Jews then, if they abstain from the above-mentioned service, and choose to venerate the one God over all and esteem him lord [judge rightly]; yet if to him they render worship in the manner aforesaid, they err. For those things which the Gentiles, offering to the senseless and the deaf, exhibit as a demonstration of their folly, the same these, as if supposing they furnish them to one who stands in need, might reckon perhaps folly, rather than divine worship. For he that made the heaven and the earth and all things therein, and supplies us all with whatsoever we need, himself needs none of those things, which he furnishes to the persons who think they bestow on him. But those who, by blood and fat and whole burnt-offerings, think they do sacrifice to him, and thereby do adorn him with honours, appear to me nowise to differ from such as exhibit the same generosity towards things without sense, which cannot perceive the honour.

"IV. And moreover I suppose thou wouldest learn of me also concerning their timidity about meats, and their superstition about Sabbaths, and their boastfulness about

circumcision, and their dissembling about fasting and new moon; which are laughable, and worthy of no account. For how is it right, among those things which were created by God for the use of men, to accept some as well created, and reject others as useless and superfluous? Then, to lie concerning God, as if he forbade to do good on the Sabbath; how is it other than impious? Then, to boast of a diminution of the flesh as a token of election, as though on that account they were specially loved of God; what does it deserve but ridicule? And then their busy watching of stars and moon, their instituted observance of months and days, their distribution of God's ordinances and the vicissitudes of times according to their pleasure, so as to allot some days to festival and others to mourning; who will regard this as an exhibition of divine service, and not rather of silliness? I suppose, therefore, that thou hast sufficiently learnt, that the Christians rightly abstain from the error and deceit common [to both], and from the scrupulous officiousness and boasting of the Jews. Yet the mystery of their own proper worship, think not thou canst learn of man.

"V. For the Christians are distinguished from the rest of mankind neither by language nor by customs. For neither do they inhabit cities of their own, nor use any extraordinary dialect, nor lead a marked life. Nor was this their instruction delivered to them by any speculation or solicitude of overcurious men; nor do they rest on human dogmas, as some. But, inhabiting Grecian and foreign cities, as the lot may have fallen to each, and following the usages of the land, in garb, diet, and the remaining manner of life, they exhibit a conduct which is wonderful, and by all considered incredible. They dwell in their own cities, yet as sojourners; they partake of all things as citizens, and suffer all things as aliens; every foreign land is their home, and every home a foreign land. They marry, as do all; rear children, but cast not away the newborn; observe a table which is common, but not unclean. They are in the flesh, but live not after the flesh; they dwell on earth, but have citizenship in heaven. They obey the

constituted laws, and surpass the laws by their own example. They love all, and are persecuted by all. They are unknown and are condemned; they are slain, and made alive again. They are poor, yet making many rich; stand in need of all things, yet abound in all. They are dishonoured, and glorious in their dishonour; they are accused, and yet justified. They are reviled, and bless; they are contemned, and render honour. Doing good, they are punished as evil; being punished, they rejoice as receiving life. By the Jews they are warred against as aliens, and by the Greeks they are persecuted; and those who hate them can give no reason of their hatred.

"VI. But to speak plainly: that which the soul is in the body, the same are Christians in the world. For the soul is diffused through all the members of the body; and Christians through all the states of the world. The soul dwells indeed in the body, but is not of the body; and Christians dwell in the world, but are not of the world. The invisible soul is kept in a visible body; and Christians are known to be in the world, but their religion remains invisible. The flesh hates the spirit, and without cause wars against it, because it is kept from enjoying pleasures; and the world without having been injured hates Christians, because they oppose its pleasures. The soul loves the flesh, which hates it, and the members; and Christians love those who hate them. The soul is locked up in the body, but holds the body together; and Christians are kept in the world, as it were in custody, yet hold the world together. The immortal soul dwells in a mortal tabernacle; and Christians sojourn amidst corruptible things, awaiting incorruption in the heavens. The soul when ill-treated as to meats and drinks is made better; and Christians when punished increase day by day. God has assigned them to such an ordering, as it is not lawful for them to abandon.

"VII. For, as I said, it is not an earthly discovery which has been delivered to them, nor is it a speculation of mortals which they deign so diligently to observe, neither are they entrusted with the dispensation of human mysteries.

But he himself, who is truly the Sovereign of all and Maker of all, the invisible God, himself [I say] from heaven hath implanted and fixed in the hearts of men the truth, and the holy and incomprehensible word; not, as one might surmise, sending to men some servant or angel, or prince, or any of those who govern earthly things, or any of those entrusted with the heavenly provinces, but the Framer and Creator of the universe himself; by whom he created the heavens, by whom he shut the sea within its own bounds, whose mysteries all the elements faithfully observe, from whom the sun hath taken the measure of his career of days to be run through, whom the moon obeys, commanding her to shine by night, whom the stars obey, following the course of the moon; by whom all things are disposed, and circumscribed, and subjected, the heavens and things in the heavens, the earth and things in the earth, the sea and things in the sea; fire, air, the abyss, things on high, things below, things in the midst. Was this, as some among men might conjecture, for purposes of tyranny, and striking terror? By no means; but in clemency and gentleness. As a king sending his son he sent the king, sent him as God, as unto men, as Saviour, as one persuading, not constraining; for violence is not with God. He sent him as calling, not pursuing; sent him as loving, not as judging. As judging he shall [indeed] one day send him; and who shall abide his presence? [Seest thou not] those thrown to the wild beasts, to make them deny the Lord, yet, not overcome? and that the more there are punished, the more are others multiplied? These things appear not to be wrought by men; these things are the power of God; these things are proofs of his coming.

"VIII. For who among men could at all know what God is, before he came? Approvest thou the vain and doting words of those esteemed credible philosophers, of whom some say, God is fire (they shall go to it, as they call it God), and some water, and some other elements created by God? But, indeed, if any one of these sayings were worthy of acceptation, any one of the other creatures

might announce itself as God. But these are prodigies, and deceits of impostors. None of mankind hath seen him, or made him known; but he hath revealed himself. He hath revealed himself through faith, whereby alone it is vouchsafed to see God. For God, the Lord and Creator of all things, he that made all and disposed them in order, was not only loving towards man, but also long-suffering. But this [God] was, and is, and ever shall be benignant and good, and devoid of wrath, and true, and the only good; and when he hath conceived a great and ineffable idea, he communicates it to his Son alone. For so long a time, therefore, as he retained in mystery and reserved his wise counsel, he seemed to us to neglect us, and to be indifferent; but after he revealed by his beloved Son, and manifested the things prepared from the beginning, he at one and the same timo bestowed on us all things, as well to take part in his benefits, as to behold [God] and to do [his will]. Who of us could ever have expected [this]? Therefore he knew all things by himself, with the Son, according to the [divine] economy.

"IX. During the former time, therefore, he suffered us to be borne along by irregular motions according to our own counsel, misled by pleasures and lusts; not as if by any means he took pleasure in our faults, but bearing with them, and not approving the former period of unrighteousness, but bringing into existence the present [period] of righteousness; that when we had been convinced in the former time that we were by our own works unworthy of life, we might now be deemed worthy of it by the kindness of God, and that when we had made it manifest that by any thing in ourselves it was impossible to enter into the kingdom of God, we might be made able by the power of God. But since our unrighteousness was made complete, and it was fully manifested that its recompense, punishment and death must be expected, and the time had come which God had foreordained to manifest his own goodness and power, since from its immeasurable philanthropy the love of God is unparalleled; he did not hate us nor reject us, nor bear remembrance of the evil,

but was long suffering, himself gave his own Son a ransom in our stead, the holy for the lawless, him that knew not wickedness for the wicked, the just for the unjust, the incorruptible for the corruptible, the immortal for the mortal. For what else was able to cover our sins but his righteousness? In whom was it possible for us, the lawless and impious, to be justified other than in the only Son of God? O sweet exchange! O design past finding out! O bounties never to have been expected! That the iniquity of many should be hidden in one righteous; that the righteousness of one should justify many unrighteous! Having then in the foregoing period convinced us how impossible it was for our own nature to attain to life, and having now shown us a Saviour able to save that which was impossible, by both these he intended that we should trust in his goodness, and esteem him our nourisher, father, teacher, counsellor, physician, mind, light, honour, glory, might, life, and not to be solicitous about raiment and food.

"X. If, also, thou shalt have desired this faith, thou mightest also receive first the knowledge of the Father. For God loved men, for whom he made the world, to whom he subjected all things in the earth, to whom he gave reason, to whom understanding, whom alone he permitted to look upward to himself, whom he formed in his own image, to whom he sent his only-begotten Son, to whom he has promised the kingdom in heaven, and will give it to those who have loved him. And when you shall have known him, with what joy thinkest thou wilt thou be filled? Or how wilt thou love again him who hath first so loved thee? And when thou hast loved, thou wilt become an imitator of his goodness. Nor shouldest thou wonder that man can become an imitator of God. With God's consent he can. For to be happy, is not to lord it over neighbours, or to wish to have more than weaker persons, or to be rich and use violence to the needy; nor can any one in such things be an imitator of God; for these things are all incompatible with his majesty. But he who takes his neighbour's burden on himself; he who, in the thing

wherein he is superior, wishes to benefit another who is inferior; he who supplies to others in need those things which he has received of God, becomes as a god to those who receive. This man is the imitator of God. Then thou shalt see on earth that God reigns in heaven; then thou shalt begin to speak the mysteries of God; then thou shalt love and admire those who are punished because they will not deny God; then thou shalt condemn the deceit and imposture of the world, when thou hast learnt to live really in heaven, when thou hast come to despise what is here considered death, when thou hast come to dread what is truly death, reserved for those who shall be condemned to eternal fire, to be the punishment of those delivered to it even unto the end; then shalt thou admire those who for righteousness' sake endure the temporary fire, and shalt pronounce them blessed, when thou hast known that [other] fire.

(*Here ends that part of the Epistle which is held to be genuine.*)

"[XI. I am not speaking strange things, nor instituting unreasonable inquiries, but being a disciple of the apostles, am become a teacher of the gentiles; those things which are delivered to me I minister to such as become disciples of the truth. For who that is rightly instructed and begotten by the beloved Word, does not seek to know accurately those things which were manifestly shown to disciples, to whom the Word having appeared manifested them, speaking with freedom of utterance, not comprehended by the unbelieving, but discoursing to disciples, who, accounted faithful by him, have known the mysteries of the Father? For which cause he sent the Word, that he might appear unto the world; who being dishonoured by the people, preached by the apostles, was believed on by the gentiles. The same who was from the beginning, appeared now, and was found to be ancient, and ever new is begotten in the hearts of the saints. The same who was from eternity, to-day is reckoned Son; by whom the Church is enriched, and grace spread abroad is multiplied in the saints, affording intelligence, disclosing mysteries,

announcing times, rejoicing over the faithful, bestowed on those who seek, by whom the boundaries of faith are not broken, nor the boundaries of the fathers transcended. After this the fear of law is hymned, and the grace of prophets is known, and the belief of gospels is established, and the tradition of apostles is guarded, and the grace of the Church leaps for joy. If thou grievest not this grace, thou shalt know what things the Word speaks, by whom he chooses, and when he pleases. For whatsoever things we are moved, by the will of him that commandeth, to utter with labour, we are partakers [of the same] with you out of love for what has been revealed to us.'

"XII. Which having obtained and heard with attention, you shall know what things God affords to those who love aright; being made a paradise of delight, having reared within you the all-fruitful, well-germinating tree; being adorned with manifold fruits. For in this very place were planted the tree of knowledge and the tree of life; but it is not the [tree] of knowledge that slays, but the disobedience slays. Nor are those things obscure which are written, how God from the beginning planted the tree of life in the midst of Paradise, indicating life through knowledge; which when those who were from the beginning did not use purely, they were made naked by the deceit of the serpent. For neither is there life without knowledge, nor is knowledge safe without true life. Therefore each was planted in proximity, which power the apostle perceiving, and blaming that knowledge which is exercised [in order] to life, without the truth of the commandment, says, 'Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth.' For whoso supposes that he knows any thing, without true knowledge, witnessed by the life, knows not, is deceived by the serpent, not having loved the life; but whoso with fear thoroughly knows, and seeks life, the same plants in hope, expecting fruit. Let the heart be to thee knowledge, and the life the true Word, [as] accepted. Of which, [thou] bearing the tree and plucking the fruit, shalt gather always those things which are desired of God, which the serpent touches not, nor meddles with by imposture; nor

is Eve corrupted, but is deemed a virgin; and salvation is shown forth, and apostles are instructed, and the Lord's passover advances, and tapers are brought together and fitted with decorum, and the Word who teaches the saints is made joyful, by whom the Father is glorified; to whom be glory for ever. Amen.]"

In regard to that large portion of this Epistle which is of undoubted genuineness, some observations may well be allowed. And, first, it breathes the spirit of a very early age. It much more resembles the apostolical fathers, and indeed the canonical epistles, that any later productions of Greek Christians. The allusions are to a state of things in which believers had not lost their distinctive character, and in which they were separate from the world. The splendid amplification of the fifth chapter, has attracted universal admiration. Its resemblance to certain passages of the apostle Paul, need not be pointed out to any mindful reader. The silence of the Epistle, moreover, on certain points which stand out glaringly on every page of the later fathers, is very instructive. If image-worship had begun in any shape, the line of argument pursued by the writer would necessarily have been unlike what it is; he would have been driven to the subterfuges and distinctions which grew out of the iconoclastic controversy, and which disgrace the arguments of Rome. The same remark applies to the denunciations of Judaism, in regard to set days. If Christians at that time had possessed a calendar of feasts and fasts, it would have been difficult to write the latter sentences of the fourth chapter, without a salvo for such observances. The writing proceeded from a time anterior to all ecclesiastical distinction of days and meats. Equally silent is our eloquent author concerning any claims of hierarchy. Not a word does he utter about sacramental grace, priesthood, distinction of laity and clergy, baptismal regeneration, the necessity of coming to an external catholicism for safety. But these are assumptions on which we perpetually stumble, in the fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries. In all these respects the air of the production is healthful and primitive. Nor does it contain,

in its genuine portions, a syllable on which a papist could build a plausible argument.

We remark, secondly, on the inadequate and erroneous view which the author takes of the Old Testament dispensation. This it is, as we have said above, which has led many to class the Epistle among Gnostical works. In our apprehension, however, these passages, though painfully aside from truth, only serve to corroborate the opinion that the work is of early date. In later periods, the Old Testament was assigned to its proper standing. But when early converts came over from gentilism to the gospel, unless belonging to the class of proselytes, they did not, like the Jews, pass through the Old Testament as a vestibule. In many cases, we may suppose it was long before even the version of the Seventy was put into their hands. One who at this stage should write a defence of Christianity, would be very apt to indulge in just such undiscriminating censures of Judaism as characterize this Epistle. It is indeed one of the most obscure points in church history, to determine by what process the early converts from heathenism were brought acquainted with the Old Testament Scriptures and economy. What difficulties it has offered to the greatest Christian historian of our age, may be seen in Neander's delightful but unsafe volume, on the Planting and Training of the Church.

Our third remark is of a more pleasing kind. The Epistle to Diognetus abounds in the statement of vital Christian doctrine. Even our bald version cannot altogether conceal the sublimity of that passage of the seventh chapter, in which the writer sets forth the uncreated dignity of the Redeemer. Here we read, that when God would save men, he sent, "not some servant, or angel, or prince, or any of those who govern earthly things, or any of those entrusted with the heavenly provinces, but the Framer and Creator of the Universe himself;" (an expression which certainly savours little of Gnosticism); and the words following, rise in a climax unsurpassed in patristical eloquence. The value of faith is clearly asserted in the eighth chapter. But it is in the ninth that we have expressions concerning the method of justification, such as we have often toiled in vain to find in some church-fathers of the highest name. "By our own works unworthy of life," we are "deemed worthy of it by the kindness of God." The desert and impotence of

fallen nature are strongly asserted. God "gave his own Son, a ransom in our stead; the holy for the lawless; him that knew not wickedness, for the wicked; the just for the unjust." The doctrine of justification, as something beyond mere pardon, is taught: "*For what else was able to cover our sins, but His righteousness?*" And he breaks forth, "O sweet exchange! O design past finding out! O bounties never to have been expected! That the iniquity of many should be hidden in one righteous; that the righteousness of one should justify many unrighteous."

We have said enough, we trust, to draw the attention of inquiring students to the Epistle to Diognetus. By all means they should study it in the original. So doing, they will find much light cast on the history of the Church, and of early opinion.

ART. III.—*Modern Millenarianism.*

[We published, in a former number of our Quarterly, an article on the missionary bearings of the Millenarian doctrines. As these dogmas are making very high pretensions, and "no small stir" in our day; and as many are beginning to wonder what these strange things mean, we have thought we could not render our readers a better service, than by attempting to set before them, in as compact a form as possible, an analysis of the entire Millenarian creed.]

"THE term *Millenarian*,* in its widest application, denotes one who believes in a millennium, or thousand years of the saints' reign with Christ on earth; without determining whether that reign is to be in all senses personal and literal, or characteristically a spiritual reign. But in controversial works this term has assumed a more restricted meaning, and is now generally employed to denote those who hold that Christ's personal advent is to precede the millennium; that at his coming the resurrection and glorification of them who have slept in Jesus are literally to take place; that they, in conjunction with Christ, are personally to reign on the earth over mortal men; that mankind, as now, are to continue in the natural body, are to multiply, be still subject to the diseases and death that are

* Theological and Literary Journal, July, 1850, pp. 5, 6.

the fruits of Adam's fall; that the gospel dispensation is to continue during the thousand years, and Jews and Gentiles are to be generally converted."

And let it be observed here, to avoid the confusion into which some writers on this subject have fallen, that those who hold to the future personal reign of Christ and his saints on earth, are divided into two great classes. The one class are the millenarians, whose theory we have sketched. The Lords, Dufficld, Henshaw of America, agree substantially with the British millenarians. The other class are the Second Adventists, or more commonly known now amongst us as Millerites. There are comparatively few of these in Britain, but many in America. The belief of the Millerites is, in substance, as follows:—That Christ is very soon to return in person to the earth; when he comes, the deceased saints are to be raised; they, together with the living saints, are to be changed, and withdrawn from the earth into some region of the air; the world is then to be purified by fire, the earth to melt with fervent heat, its works and all the unregenerate portion of mankind to be burned up. After the purification is thus completed, then the saints are to descend upon the earth again, and reign with Christ in sole possession of the world for the thousand years. At the end of this period the second resurrection is to take place; that is, all the wicked dead are to be raised, and those, deceived by Satan—as if they would need to be deceived for that purpose—are to make war upon the camp of the saints, to meet a signal overthrow, and be cast down for ever to hell.

It will be perceived that those two classes hold but little in common. The millenarian believes in the continuance of the fleshly and probationary state during the millennium; that the agencies of redemption and conversion work are still to go on; indeed that this is Christ's great harvest period, when he shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied; that little, comparatively, is to be accomplished for man's salvation, in giving to Christ those who had been promised him by the Father, until that period arrive. The Millerite, on the other hand, believes in no such mixed millennial state. He believes that probation ends with Christ's coming—that that is the end of saving sinners—that there is to be no such thing as men in the flesh in the period of the millennium.

Those are the two theories of the millennium, that stand in contrast with the one which we suppose to be most generally entertained; viz., the view which places the personal second coming of Christ at the close of the millennium, and that not for the purpose of abiding and reigning on earth at all, but to bring the affairs of our world to an end, and to consummate the work given him as Redeemer. It is the millenarian theory alone that we propose to consider in contrast with the general one.

It might strike one at first view, that, as to the practical influence upon those embracing it, it matters little which of those two theories a person now adopts; that to us, who live before the millennium, the doctrines of the gospel which are vitally related to Christian faith and practice, must all be the same, whether we take up with the one or the other view; that the subject is more speculative and curious than practical. A little farther attention to the matter, however, will show that it is otherwise. Millenarianism has grown out of a new "school of Scripture interpretation;" and its laws of interpretation are so different from the old, that the Bible may almost be said to wear a new visage and speak with a new tongue—a tongue not very intelligible, in many of its utterances, to the uninitiated. The central law of interpretation, by which millenarians profess always to be guided, is that of giving the literal sense. They call themselves literalists, in opposition to those who entertain the other notion of the millennium, whom they denominate spiritualists, or allegorists, and whom they accuse of frittering away the sense of Scripture by following a system of figurative interpretation. It is by following out rigidly (we may say doggedly) their system of literalism with reference to a portion of the prophetic Scriptures, that, in defiance of all other Scripture, they bring in the future personal reign of Christ on earth, and shape their entire view of the system of revealed religion to that nucleus. Suffice it for the present to say, that the theory of Christianity, which introduces Christ's personal reign on earth during the millennium, can coincide in but few particulars (happily these are the most fundamental; so, on the supposition of the falsity of their theory, there is no shipwreck made of essential faith) with the other, and which, for convenience sake, we shall call the commonly received theory of Christi-

anity. The plan that we have adopted for this discussion is, to lay side by side the two theories of Christ's second advent, (viz., the one which locates it before, and the one which locates it after the millennium,) and thus bring to view the principal points of difference.

1. We differ, *toto cœlo*, on the nature itself of the millennium. We regard the millennium as nothing more and nothing else than the increased expansion and power of our present Christianity; they regard it as a new dispensation of religion—a dispensation so unlike the present as to have little in common with it. Dr. Duffield says, and none will deny that in this he represents the cardinal point at issue justly, "The great question which forms the nucleus of the whole discussion, is one, and very simple, viz., Is the kingdom of heaven a new dispensation, to be introduced on earth by the visible personal coming of Jesus Christ? or has it been commenced?" That is the point in controversy; and to that "nucleus," that germinal principle, must all the other parts of one's adopted system of grace adjust themselves. We have studied out and embraced a scheme of Christian faith which connects the kingly office of Christ inseparably with his mediatorial relations; we believe that as Mediator, from first to last, he as really and as necessarily executeth the office of King as of Priest. We believe the Scriptures plainly teach that Christ is now King in Zion; that his mediatorial kingdom has already commenced on earth in the hearts of his people, and is to be perfected and perpetuated through everlasting ages in the world to come. Jesus himself, in answer to Pilate's inquiry, confessed that he was then King, that for the purpose of wearing that character he was born. Yet the whole millenarian theory is built upon the assumption that Christ, as Mediator, is not King—that he is now reigning upon his Father's throne, not his own—that his own proper kingdom is to commence with the millennium, and is of course yet future; that the present is the Priestly age of Christ—the age yet to come, before entering upon which he will have finished the work of intercession, (!) is his Kingly age. Hence will be perceived how different is the character of Christ's kingdom according to them—a kingdom yet to be—from the nature of that which we call the kingdom of Christ, and which we think is now in existence.

We understand it to be a spiritual kingdom. "My kingdom is not of this world." "The kingdom of God is righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: neither shall they say, Lo here! or, Lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you." The millenarian doctrine is, that Christ's kingdom is of this world; that it is to be a visible reign, the seat, or capital, of which will be at Jerusalem. "The notion," says Mr. Brooks, a distinguished British writer on the millenarian side, "that the kingdom of Christ signifies the present visible Christian church, or the Christian religion in the hearts of God's people, or both—and that it has been manifested to the world ever since the establishment of Christianity—is in the main erroneous, inasmuch as it mistakes the means for the end, and substitutes what may be considered as the preparation for the kingdom, for the establishment and manifestation of it;—but if, on the contrary, it shall appear that it was not in its primary sense to be manifested under this dispensation, and has not been manifested, then it determines that its character will necessarily be something far more exalted and different from what has hitherto been witnessed."

2. We will therefore pass, secondly, from the nature of the millennium, to consider the means of introducing it.

Our belief is, that the present agencies for spreading the gospel are the only means ever to be employed in converting the world to God. These agencies are the publication of gospel truth, accompanied to the souls of men by the silent energy of the Holy Ghost. The word is ever to be the instrument, the Almighty Spirit the agent in the conversion of men. These are the means of salvation which the Scriptures every where recognize; and they not only give no intimation that these are to be exchanged for others, or that others are to be superadded, but they seem clearly to forbid the expectation of other instrumentalities. The commission given by Christ, under which all his followers act, runs as follows: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all nations; and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Now it is agreed on both sides, that the phrase "unto the end of the world," denotes that period which terminates with the second coming of Christ.

Does not, then, that commission contain ample provisions for both introducing and perfecting the millennium?

The process by which the whole world is to be evangelized, until the millennium's meridian is gained, we believe to be plainly indicated in the parables of the mustard seed and the leaven.

Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the image, too, as interpreted by Daniel, seems to teach the same thing. The image denotes the kingdoms of this world that are to be destroyed before the glories of the millennium can be reached. Now, what is to destroy those kingdoms? The kingdom of Christ, all say. The God of heaven shall set up a kingdom that shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever. The kingdom, too, all admit, is that stone cut out of the mountain without hands. But these admissions concede to us all we claim on this subject. For, (1) this stone is cut out without hands; (2) it grows till it fills the whole earth; both denoting, like the leaven, the silent operation of gospel grace in regenerating the world; and (3) the God of heaven was to set up his kingdom in the days of those kingdoms it was to demolish, which proves that the kingdom of Christ was to have its commencement before the millennium, and that it was by its growth and powerful sway that the millennial state was to be brought about.

What say our millenarian brethren, however, on this subject? They maintain that, previous to the millennium, the moral condition of the world is to receive no substantial improvement, but rather that things are to wax worse and worse, until the measure of the world's iniquity is full. They sneer contemptuously at the Church's professed hope of converting the world by the agency of Bible and missionary societies, or by any diffusion of truth, or in any possible way in which the church can now convey the gospel to mankind. They do not object to these benevolent movements—individual souls will be saved by them—and then they hold that all these efforts to propagate the gospel are made essential, in the purposes of God, to the introduction of the promised kingdom; that this is the witness-bearing age, and, before Christ can come, the gospel must be preached to all nations for a testimony against them; that there is just so much preparatory gospel work to be done; therefore, let the Church be in earnest, for the better and the

faster Christians work, the sooner will Christ come. But they kindly caution the Church against being deceived by harbouring any unwarrantable expectations of evangelizing the world by these efforts. Men will not be converted in any considerable numbers, they tell us, till Christ actually makes his appearance. The personal sight of Christ, coming in his glory; the dreadful judgments he is at once, upon his appearing, to execute upon the wicked and upon all antichristian powers; the stupendous miracles that are to be performed in setting up a new dispensation; the agency of holy angels, dispersed through the earth to gather together the elect, &c., these are to be the demonstrations that will make sinners bow the knee to Christ. They believe, however, that sinners are to be regenerated then, as now, by the truth and Spirit of God; yet it is very manifest that they, after all, give other agencies the pre-eminence. Hear some of them speak for themselves.

"Multitudes of professors of religion," says Mr. Brooks, "are at this time under a delusion in regard to the nature of those events that are impending over the Church of Christ"—referring to the supposition that the millennium is to be glided into by the instrumentalities of various missionary institutions, and by a gradual diffusion of scriptural light, and he then adds: "As regards, however, the kingdom of Christ, which is the millennial kingdom, the testimony of Scripture is most abundant to the fact, that it is to be ushered in by desolating judgments; and that the universal prevalence of religion hereafter to be enjoyed, is not to be effected by any increased impetus given by the present means of evangelizing the nations, but by a stupendous display of divine wrath upon all the apostate and ungodly."

Says Mr. Tyso, "The Scriptures do state the design of the gospel, and what it is to effect; but they never say it is to convert the world. Its powers have been tried for eighteen hundred years. The Scriptures never state that the gospel, or Christian economy, will be the means of converting the world. That the world is to be converted is evident from many scriptures; but they ascribe it principally to other causes."

Mr. A. Bonar says he has heard missionaries "regret deeply that the Church at home should be dazzled by the vain hope of conversions on a grand scale."

Dr. Lord, the venerable President of Dartmouth College, holds the following strain on this subject: "It remains for another age to take off the curse of sin; to change the spots of the leopard and the skin of the Ethiopian; to cover Lebanon with cedars, and reflect the glory of the divine presence from Zion. We may enrich our galleries with the dug up ruins of antiquity. We may adorn our museums with its relics. We may repair some wastes. We may preach the gospel for a witness to the worn out nations, and save God's elect within them from the impending judgments. We ought; we shall; we will. But we can do no more. To expect more is not faith, but presumption. To attempt more will be but to hasten and heighten the catastrophe. It is against the purpose of God."

3. Having seen how the longed-for era of the gospel's triumphs is to be introduced, we will now proceed, in the third place, to consider the state of things on earth during the millennial age.

We need not enlarge upon the common view, which is simply this, that nothing is to distinguish the millennium from the present period, except the greater prevalence of true religion, and the various changes and blessings that are its natural accompaniments and consequents.

But could we now break loose from our dull theory, and transmigrate into the millenarian idea, and venture for once to take its bold flights, we might promise ourselves a rich reward for the excursion; at least, if the gratification of a morbid and endless curiosity is of the nature of a reward. We should find ourselves very shortly set down upon a new world; and if we did not find there just what Paul found when he was caught up to the third heavens, we should certainly see things of which it is not possible to give to men below an intelligible account.

What, then, according to the millenarians, is the anticipated state of things during the thousand years of Christ's personal reign on earth?

The Son of God will descend visibly from heaven, attended by all the impressive display and insignia becoming his divine royalty; he will be accompanied to earth by myriads of angels, and by the souls of the saints that had slept in him; the bodies of the saints will be raised and changed into bodies like

Christ's glorious body; the angels will be dispersed through all the world to gather the wheat into the garner, and to gather the tares for burning; that is, to assemble before Christ all the pious living, and to cut off all the wicked by terrible judgments. Millenarians expressly assert that the "complementary or full number of the elect gentile church" is to be gathered in at this time as introductory to Christ's kingly age, and that the world is then to be purified by fire, according to the prediction of the apostle Peter.

The way being thus prepared, Christ seats himself upon the throne of David in Jerusalem, and sets about inaugurating his kingdom. He is king. The first question is, whom does he associate with himself to take part in administering the government? Millenarians are not agreed here; there are three opinions. Some say, the martyrs only; or at least, such saints as had gained the distinction of passing through great tribulation for Jesus' sake, and had come out like gold tried in the fire: that these only are raised and glorified. Others hold that all the saints who had previously died, together with all the pious found on the earth at Christ's appearing, are changed, and in their glorified bodies reign with Christ. This probably is the more general opinion among them. Others still, and of this class is that American champion of Millenarianism, the Editor of the Theological and Literary Journal, believe that all the holy dead, and no others, are, in the first instance, to be joined with Christ as rulers.

The next question is, Who are the subjects, or the ruled over? They are men in the flesh—mortal men like ourselves, with all our passions, and affections, and infirmities; men who shall live, as we do, in nations; live by the various pursuits of industry, who shall plant and build, shall marry and multiply, &c.

The third question we will raise concerning the condition of things on earth during the millennium, is this: What are to be the arrangements by which those two classes of such opposite natures can dwell together, as different departments of the same terrestrial kingdom, and sustain to each other respectively the relation of rulers and subjects? We will endeavour to communicate to our patient readers all the idea we can get on this subject from millenarian writings; though we confess

it is about as foggy and indistinct as the idea of departed shades and their abodes, as described in the sixth Book of Virgil's Æneid. The rulers—to wit, Christ and the glorified saints—are to dwell, as the seat of empire, in the holy city, the New Jerusalem that is to come down from God out of heaven. But where is this New Jerusalem to be located? It is to be directly *on*, or *over*, the earthly Jerusalem, "like as Jehovah's pillar of fire rested on the tabernacle in the wilderness, or the more awful glory on the top of Sinai; here is to be the meeting-point of heaven and earth." You have the full description of it in the twenty-first chapter of Revelation.

Mr. H. Bonar holds with reference to it, the following language: "We do not hold that Christ and his risen saints are to dwell in actual houses of lime and stone, such as we dwell in [in Scotland]. Their dwelling is in the *pavilion cloud*, or residence provided for them in the New Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from God, and which rests over the earth just as the pillar of cloud did of old. From that, as the palace of the king in which they abide, they go forth continually, as vice-royal potentates, to rule the nations of the earth."

This New Jerusalem, then, is *over* and *on* the earthly Jerusalem, where David reigned; it rests down upon it as a *pavilion cloud*, yet so as not to obstruct at all the earthly Jerusalem; for this is to be rebuilt and adorned in more than its ancient magnificence, and is to be to the entire new world what it formerly was to Palestine. In connection with this representation, read the description of the New Jerusalem given in the twenty-first of Revelation, which has high walls of jasper, and twelve foundations, garnished with all manner of precious stones, the city itself being of pure gold. How much this sounds like the other description, of a "pavilion cloud"—"the meeting point of heaven and earth"—which does not interfere with the uses of the earthly city on which it rests! Blessed literalism!

Such is to be the abode of the rulers. What, on the other hand, is to be that of the subjects—human beings in the flesh? The new heavens and new earth, described in the twenty-first of Revelation, are to be prepared for them. And what sort of a residence is this? Mr. Lord, of New York, says that the new heavens and earth are to be the same materially as the present,

and their newness is to consist in their renovation—*i. e.*, in the curse being taken off which Adam's sin has brought upon them; (he must have overlooked the circumstance that after the new earth is prepared, there is to be "no more sea," Rev. xxi. 1,) the atmosphere, instead of pestilential, is to become congenial to life; the earth, in place of being blighted with sterility, and overgrown with thorns, is to become fruitful. Wildernesses are to bud and blossom as the rose; and deserts smile with verdure and plenty. The several countries of the gentiles, instead of being obliterated, are still to continue to be occupied by them and bear their ancient names. The laws of nature are to remain the same as now—sun and moon to revolve the same—the alternations of the seasons to be the same.

All the nations of the earth are to walk in the light of the New Jerusalem—that city of the saints. The saints are to come out of their pavilion and go amongst men all over the earth; all men are to have Christ constantly in sight, (though some millenarians deny this.) Mortal men, too, are at all times to have free access to the saints, within the New Jerusalem, and the kings of the earth are to bring their glory into it. How it will be possible for men in the flesh to see with fleshly eyes beings, who themselves are not partakers of flesh and blood, is not explained. The idea of such a motley kingdom, made up of such opposite and incongruous elements, would seem to bear on the very face of it an air of absurdity.

A fourth very curious inquiry, pertaining to matters in the millennium, we will introduce here. It is a prominent part of the millenarian doctrine, that, in the times of the millennium, the gospel is to have free course and be glorified—this is the great harvest period of redemption; not only are the nations of the earth to be generally converted—(all excepting some of the more incorrigible, dwelling in certain corners of the world—corners as yet undiscovered, we suppose)—but the same work of conversion and ingathering is to go down through successive generations as they come into being. The question is, by what agencies, and on what moral grounds, is the work of conversion to be executed then? The millenarian will reply, "The same as now—on the ground of Christ's death, and by the agencies of the truth and the Spirit; these made ef-

fectual by the binding of Satan, and the powerful rule of Christ and the saints." But we have some difficulties. In the first place, we say to the millenarian, "You maintain that Christ is no longer executing the office of Priest—he is no longer intercessor—he is King now; on what ground therefore can a sinner be accepted? Who is there to advocate his cause before the eternal throne, and show a valid ground for his pardon and acceptance."

We ask our millenarian brethren, in the next place, What truth do you rely upon to save sinners in the millennium? It cannot be the present Scriptures, for they will be altogether out of date, on your own admission; they were prepared for man in his present state and circumstances—battling with Satan, and braving the storms of temptation and of adversity—all of which will have blown over for ever before those days of peace and quietness; therefore the present Bible will not be adapted to the facts of the sinner's or of the saint's case under that dispensation of things. Here they frankly confess that they are looking for a new revelation from God, to supersede, partly, if not wholly, the present revelation. All the warrant they profess to give for such an expectation is, that it has been God's method, in setting up a new dispensation of religion, to make a new revelation, adapted to the nature of the dispensation.

A fifth inquiry, pertaining to the condition of things on earth during the millennium, relates to God's ancient covenant people, the Jews; how are they to figure in these times of Christ's glory? and how are they and the gentile world to stand related to each other? We believe that the wall between Jew and Gentile is for ever broken down; not so the millenarians. They maintain that the Israelites are to be gathered from all the lands of their dispersion, and restored to their ancient Palestine; that the temple is to be rebuilt; that a ritual of worship very like the Mosaic shall be restored; there shall be all the various offerings of the Levitical economy—even literal sacrifices of animal victims; there shall be peace-offerings, meat-offerings, burnt-offerings, trespass-offerings, sin-offerings. "Jerusalem," says Mr. Pym, "shall be the metropolis of the world, from which the law shall go forth, and be the centre of worship for the whole earth." Mark the fact—the law is to go

forth from Jerusalem, and Jerusalem is to be the centre of worship for the whole earth. In what sense the centre of worship? you will ask. Remember, Mr. Lord and other millenarians have the whole world peopled by nations as now; how then is Jerusalem the centre of worship to them all? It is in the most literal and unrestricted sense. They hold that all the gentile nations, kings and subjects, men, women, and children, will literally come up to Jerusalem to worship, not only annually, but from one new moon to another, and from one Sabbath to another! It will not do for us "rationalists" as Dr. Lord calls us, to raise any objections on the ground of difficulties involved in the supposition. "What right have difficulties to open the mouth in opposition to the literal sense of prophecy? Let apparent impossibilities be dumb before such scriptures as Ezek. xlv. xlvi.; Isa. lxvi. 23; Zech. xiv. 16; Ps. lxvi.; Jer. xxxiii. 17, 18. We must say nothing about the impossibility of thousands of millions of human beings in the flesh being accommodated simultaneously within one small city; we must not speak of the inconvenience of taking such journeys so often.

There are, however, some prophecies upon which they do not comment, that we should like to have them understand literally. Such, for instance, as Mal. i. 11: "From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts."

What relation now are Jews and gentiles to sustain to each other? The Israelites are to have a supremacy, both civil and religious, over all the nations of the earth—a supremacy subordinate to that of Christ and the risen saints. They are to constitute the priesthood—even Christ himself, Mr. Lord intimates, may take part in offering bloody sacrifices!! The gentiles, like the Levites of old, will be a sort of servants to the priests. "It would appear," says one, "that the ordinary avocations of life, such as the dressing of vines and the tending of flocks, will be performed for them by the gentiles, whilst they are to be engaged in the higher offices of being the priests of the Lord." On the subject of the world's annual solemn assembly at Jerusalem, Dr. McNeill says, "All shall go to Jerusalem, to the feast of Tabernacles, and see [with eyes

of flesh] the Lord of hosts manifested in the human nature of Jesus reigning in Mount Zion."

The sixth and last inquiry we will raise concerning the condition of things during the millennium, relates to the Church of Christ. Who are then to compose his Church? The Scriptures, on their own admission, represent the Church of Christ—his mystical body, the Lamb's wife—as full and complete at the coming of the Bridegroom. Mr. Bickersteth, a high authority with his party, says—in answer to the question, What is meant by the Church?—"It is composed of all those who have been given to Christ by the Father from eternity. It comprises all those for whom, in an especial manner, Christ gave himself." And on "the nature of the manifestation" of Christ, he remarks, "The Church will be glorious in its completeness. Never before shall the whole Church have been seen together; then he will have accomplished the number of his elect. Not one of the Lord's people will be wanting."

All this being so, we are curious now to know what those will be who are to be converted to Christ after his coming—for the number of the saved up to the time of his appearing will be as nothing compared with the number afterwards brought in. Who are all these? They cannot, if millenarians are consistent with themselves, be a part of the Church of Christ; for it will be "glorious in its completeness" at his coming. They cannot belong to his elect, whom the Father gave him from eternity—cannot be of those for whom Christ in a special manner, gave himself. Who are they? What relation do they sustain to Christ? To get over this difficulty, millenarians make a fanciful distinction between the Church, and the whole number saved. The Church they call the Bride—this will be complete and glorious at Christ's appearing. If we ask what other union there is of sinners to Christ than that represented in the fifth chapter of Ephesians, Mr. Bickersteth gives the following answer: "There may be, and doubtless are, a thousand stages and varieties of union with Christ, distinguishable from the glory of the Church of the first-born."

To our mind, this maiming of the body of Christ—the introducing of this non-descript class of the redeemed, is one of the most repulsive features in all the ugly compound of millenarianism.

We have thus far brought to view only three of the general points of difference between the two theories of the second advent. There are three others upon which we must touch.

4. We differ then, in the fourth place, on the doctrine of the resurrection. We believe in the resurrection of all the dead, both of the just and of the unjust, at the coming of Christ; that the pious dead and the pious living will then be changed, &c. Millenarians believe in two resurrections—that of the holy dead, and these only, at the commencement of the millennium; and that of the wicked dead after the millennium, at the end of the "little season." If we ask them what is to be the fate of those pious ones who shall die during the millennium—are they ever to be raised? We get no answer. They have exhausted the Scriptures in making provision for the resurrection of the two classes named. This large intermediate class, larger than both the others, is dropt out; there is no provision in the whole millenarian system for bringing them to life again—unless it be in the as yet unknown new revelation they are expecting in the new dispensation.

5. We differ most essentially and entirely on the doctrine of the judgment. As we read the Scriptures, God hath appointed a day in which he will judge all mankind, both righteous and wicked—every deed—all their secret things—by Jesus Christ. Millenarians have in their theory what they call a judgment, but they scoff at our idea of a day of general assize. They break the judgment up, as they do the resurrection, into two parts; being partly before, and partly after the millennium; and, moreover, they have it going on all through the millennium; it is a protracted process of judging for a thousand years. It is not of the nature at all of our judgment, but it rather answers to an idea of divine Providence; God making a difference in his wise and holy dispensations between the righteous and the wicked; adjudging, according to their respective merits and demerits, one to a place of honourable preferment and happiness, and another to a place of infamy and misery. The judgment scene described in the twenty-fifth of Matthew, they locate before the millennium, and make it a national, not an individual judgment.

6. We differ in relation to the condition of the greater portion of the human family during the eternal ages that are to

supervene after the millennium, the "little season," and the final judgment. While, on the one hand, we believe that this physical, material earth is to be no more—that there will be no more men in the flesh—that all the wicked will be cast down to an eternal hell, and all the righteous glorified with Christ in an eternal heaven; they, on the contrary, maintain that the world, as refitted in more than its paradisaical goodliness at the commencement of the millennium, is to last for ever; that it is to be inhabited for ever by human beings in the flesh, who are to marry, and procreate, and multiply, &c., just as in the millennium; that Christ and his saints, pavilioned in the New Jerusalem, are to rule over them in the same manner; in a word, that this is only the prolongation and continued increase of Messiah's kingdom, which is, according to the promise to David, on whose throne he sits, an everlasting kingdom, that shall have no end.

Mr. Lord, of New York, says: "Men, then, are for ever to exist as communities and nations, and thence in the natural body, and therefore are for ever to multiply. To suppose that they are not to multiply, is to contradict their nature, and exhibit their existence as an infinite absurdity; for it is to suppose that the marriage institution is to be discontinued, and the world occupied by countless millions of immortal celibates, debarred from the principal offices, duties, and joys, for which their constitution fits them. No man in his senses can persuade himself that such a society of isolated beings is the *beau ideal* of a renovated world. . . . . The most important function of our nature is that of bringing similar beings into existence, and the parental and filial relations are the chief sphere of the duties, virtues, and enjoyments of life."

The question, how is the condition of the race after the millennium to differ from its condition during that period, Mr. Lord answers substantially as follows. He says the great peculiarity that is to distinguish the condition of the race after the close of the thousand years, is, an entire exemption from the curse brought upon man by his first progenitor, an exemption from the curse of mortality, sorrow, suffering, the loss of spiritual blessings, &c. How this curse is to be repealed without breaking our federal relation to Adam, he does not inform us. He says

the race are, during the millennium, to consist of two classes. (1) The saints who, still in the flesh, are changed from mortal to immortal—that is, made just like our first parents before their fall. He holds that all the pious on earth at the time of Christ's coming, will be thus changed. They will not be glorified, like the risen saints—will only be exempted from the liability to disease and death. Besides these, others will receive the gift of immortality during the millennium. (2) These will be the mortal inhabitants of the earth. All who shall be born during the thousand years will be born mortal, that is, subject to death. But very many of these, as the reward of their piety, will be permitted to eat of the leaves of the tree of life, (for this is to be restored,) and will thus be made immortal. Such is to be the mixed fleshly state during the millennium. After this, however, the curse is to be wholly repealed; there is to be no more death, no more suffering, no more curse of any kind. How the countless millions of human beings, with bodies and bodily wants as now, are to find sufficient accommodations on this earth at some future point in her eternal existence, does not appear. There seems, to a "rationalistic" mode of looking at things, to be a difficulty here; for the race is to multiply without end—there is no place for them but this world, and it does not appear that this globe is ever to be more than twenty-five thousand miles in circumference. However, we, those of us who belong to the Bridegroom, will not vex ourselves with that puzzle, for we hope to be ourselves in the New Jerusalem; there is no marrying and multiplying there—there is no danger of its accommodations becoming straitened.

Millenarians make very ill-natured and scolding complaints against us, that we condemn their system without examining into its foundations. They berate our ignorance and stupidity. They speak of "deplorable degradation of the ministerial profession;" "wretched superficiality in those who affect to be guides of public opinion;" "not a trace of acquaintance with the laws of philology." They will not hear a word of objection to their doctrines, except what may be made through an examination of their principles of interpretation. They may safely look out and deride and defy through the loop-holes of this retreat; for few, we should hope, will ever think it worth while to drive them out of those unseemly places.

The objection they make to our mode of criticism goes upon the assumption, that the Bible is so different from all other compositions, that, without the application of their peculiar laws of literal interpretation, only a small portion of it can be understood. It will be difficult to convince the pious world that this is just so. We believe that the man with a new heart who can understand the spelling-book, and can read intelligently the history of his country, can understand the greater and most essential portion of the word of God. If so, he can understand quite enough to test millenarianism by. It is as absurd to complain of our criticisms, because we have not gone directly to work to demolish the enginery with which they forge their doctrines—viz: their peculiar system of hermeneutics—as it would be to complain of him who cries out against the cholera as an evil, before he examines into its causes, and understands the laws of its operation; or of him who condemns the Upas tree before he has examined the acorn from which it grows. We answer them, that a tree may sometimes be known by its fruits, as well as its roots.

Art. IV.—*China and California.*

The discoverers of the American continent in the fifteenth century were entranced, when they landed on its eastern coast, to find here what appeared a land of boundless wealth in the precious metals, and in its agricultural productions; inhabited by a people of gentle, poetic and luxurious manners, only empurpled and enervated by the tropical sun. And scarce less surprised were our brethren that have pushed our empire to the Pacific shores, to be at once met on that opposite extreme by unexpected descendants of the same division of the human family, the emigrant Chinese. The Indian and the Chinaman are and are not the same. The progenitors of our aborigines were doubtless portions of the maritime population of the Asiatic coast, cast hither by the currents and winds of the ocean, some, perhaps, as the Tartar traditions affirm, on cakes of ice; while Long Achick and his celestial companions step ashore in satin shoes with white soles of paper, and float through the

streets of San Francisco in gowns of silk, waving their fans painted with extracts from poets and philosophers more ancient than Chaucer and Pelagius, and erect with the port of intelligence, refinement and enterprise. And now, when the people of California have compared the Chinaman with his brother, the wretched Rootdigger, or the savage Camanche, they have found him as different as the modern Louis Napoleon from the ancient Dumnorix, or as the astronomer Arago from the druid Divitiacus. They have found him a gentleman in his address, a scholar in his own polished and immense literature, every whit as cunning a trader and as acute a diplomatist as the Yankee: in fine he is the "*Yankee of the East.*"

The question is asked with wonder, whence came these men? We reply, from an empire as ancient as that of Nineveh, as civilized as that of Egypt, as wealthy and as controlling in the politics of mankind as Great Britain; one that has stood from an early period after the deluge, almost unknown to the fickle history of all the nations with which we have been acquainted, but ever-augmenting, till it is now the most populous that ever existed, and covers an area greater by one half than the whole continent of Europe.

Western nations claim to have discovered America some three hundred and sixty years ago. But there is every reason to believe that it was subjects of the Chinese Empire, either Tartars or Chinese, that first disturbed its vast solitudes with the sounds of the human voice, and who planted on its soil imperishable monuments of human industry. Place the newly-arrived Chinaman and the Indian side by side, and you observe the same complexion. Listen to the tongue of the latter, and while most of the dialects have partaken more of the Tartar original, a Chinese element also may be traced. For instance, the Otonic language, which covered a wider territory than any other but the Aztec among the nations of the Western part of our continent, is said to exhibit a remarkable affinity to the Chinese, both in its monosyllabic structure, and in its general vocabulary.

If it be asked, how the Orientals could have first reached this country, a high American authority [Redfield] says: "A knowledge of the winds and currents of the Pacific Ocean will, I am convinced, serve to remove all mystery and all doubt

from the once vexed question of the first peopling of its islands from the Asiatic continent, and in spite of the long urged objection of the opposition of the trade-winds. A case is still recent where the wreck of a Japanese junk was drifted the entire distance to the Sandwich Islands, with its surviving crew; thus completing nearly half of the great circuit of the winds and currents in the North Pacific. But we shall find an additional means of transport near the Equator, which is afforded in the north-west monsoon of the Indian and Pacific oceans, and which is found, according to my inquiries, to extend at one portion of the year as far eastward as the Society Islands, or more than half the distance from the Indian Ocean to the coast of South America." Indeed, when we consider the countless fleets of vessels, of every description, that checker the Chinese seas, it would be wonderful if some of them, by the frequent storms and the great current which precipitates the Northern Pacific upon the American coast, were not landed here; and equally wonderful if some, by the great counter current and trade-winds of the tropical zone, did not bear back tidings of the new world.

That the Chinese had propagated their race and their characteristics on this shore of the separating ocean, is the opinion of many men of research. Dr. J. Pye Smith quotes with approbation the opinion expressed in the Encyclopedia Britannica, that "there are traits of resemblance in the manners, laws, arts, and institutions of the Chinese and Peruvians, which in our opinion are too numerous, striking, and peculiar, to be the effect of chance."

The period when this continent was peopled may for ever remain a secret. If solved, it must be from the historic records of the Oriental nations, probably from those of China, which, besides its comparative propinquity, possesses the most ancient and perfect of uninspired traditions. When we examine Chinese history, we discover descriptions of a great land far to the eastward, across the "Great Ocean," which the Jesuits and other interpreters of that difficult literature believe afford proof that California was known to that people for at least a thousand years before its discovery by the Spanish. The following, a short chapter from the Yuen-kien-lüi-hán, a Chinese Encyclopedia, is a specimen of the accounts supposed

to refer to America. It is contained on the 44th and 45th pages of the 231st volume:

"FUSANG. The historians of the South mention the country of Fusang. They state, that in the first year of *Wing-yuen* of the *Tsi* dynasty [about A. D. 499, according to the tables of M. Pauthier,] several of its learned Shaman priests arrived at Hing-chau. These men reported that Fusang lies east of Ta-moh, at the distance of twenty thousand *li*. [Ta-moh is described as a nation twelve thousand *li* eastward from Japan.] Their land is east from the middle kingdom [China]. Its territory is great. The name is derived from the *fusang* wood. The leaves of the *fusang* are like those of the *tung;* when first produced they resemble sprouts of bamboo. The inhabitants eat the fruit like pears, and weave its bark into cloth for clothing, and for articles of embroidery. They have no extensive cities [or 'cities with suburbs,' as Medhurst elsewhere translates the same phrase.] They have books, which are written upon the bark of the *fusang*. They possess no armed soldiery, and do not dare to make battle.

"According to the laws of the country there is instituted a northern and a southern prison. Persons guilty of light offences are committed to that at the south: those guilty of the more weighty ones to that at the north. There may be pardon and release from the southern prison, but none from the other. The males and females in it are, however, allowed to intermarry; though their male children are sold into slavery at eight years of age, and their females at nine. The corpses of prisoners are not permitted exit. When a man of rank is guilty of a crime, the men of the nation hold a great council. The offender eats and drinks before them. When condemned they bid him farewell like a dying man, and retire. Then a circle is drawn around him with ashes. Thus, if the crime be of a low grade, himself alone is cut off from intercourse with society: if greater, he and his children and grand-children: if of the highest degree of heinousness, his descendants are included to the seventh generation. The name of the king is *Yih-ki*. The nobility are entitled first, the Tui-lu; second, the inferior Tui-lu; third, the Na-tuh-shá. When the King travels he is attended by preceding and following drums and horns. The royal apparel is changed according to the year.

In every ten, during the first two it is green; during the next two, red; in the third two, yellow; in the fourth two, white; and in the last two, it is black. Carriages are used, with horses, oxen and deer. The people of the country raise deer to ferment spirits out of the milk, [as do the Tartars.] Red pears grow there, which keep sound the year through. Reeds, or watergrass, are abundant; they have peaches also. There is no iron; but they possess copper. They do not esteem gold and silver. When marriage is contemplated, the lover goes to the residence of the lady, erects a cottage near it, and waits, [or, in the Chinese, "sprinkles and sweeps"] for a year. If she be not pleased in that time she drives him off; but if mutually satisfied, the ceremonies are concluded. At an early era Buddhism did not exist in that country; but in the second year of Ta-ming, of the Sung dynasty [about A. D. 459] five pí-keu, or mendicant priests, from Kipin, [in Tartary,] went there and distributed Buddhist tracts and images among the inhabitants. Their customs have in consequence been changed."

The name Fusang is not of Chinese origin. It was probably obtained from the natives of the country, or was given to it by the Japanese, a people, says Bradford, in his valuable work on American Antiquities, whose commerce once extended from the Indian Archipelago to the shores of North America, "with which they were acquainted under the name of *Fousang*."

A critical examination of the whole of this remarkable passage reveals but few points of difference between the people of Fusang and what the Toltecs and Aztecs were, or might have been three and a half centuries ago. The Chinese historian depicts a peaceful people, it is true, with few arms; but such were the Toltecs before the rise of the Aztec power. The principal discrepancy is in the assertion that there were wheeled vehicles used with horses, oxen, or deer, since the use of these domestic animals was probably unknown on this continent. Yet on the other hand, the Tartar nations to the north of China cannot be intended, as carriages of any kind were equally unused by them.

The reasons for applying this narrative to the people of ancient Mexico are numerous and weighty. It purports to

have been derived from several Shaman priests, who came to China in the year 499 of the Christian era. The astonishing analogies between the Aztec religion and the Buddhist might justify those who have pronounced them the same. They resembled each other in their primary ideas of the Divine Being, of good and evil spirits, of the depravity of matter, and of the transmigration of the soul; in their general use of monastic forms and discipline; in their penances, ablutions, almsgivings, and public festivals; in the worship of their household gods; in the devotion of the priests to the studies of astrology and astronomy; in the admission of virgin females to the vows and rites of the cloister; in some of the titles and functions of different prominent deities; in the incense, liturgies, and chants of their worship; in their use of charms and amulets; in some of their forms of burial, or burning the dead, and the preservation of the ashes in urns; and in the assumption of the right to educate the youth. So the Chinese might justly have classed the Aztec priesthood with the Buddhist, that before the fifth century had extended their idolatrous toils over all Eastern Asia.

Fusang is described in the Chinese narrative as an extensive country, eastward of Japan, at the distance of about nine thousand miles. Only the Aleutian and Sandwich Islands lie in that direction short of our own continent, which is not far from that number of thousand miles distant; a remarkable approximation to the truth, when we remember the imperfection of the art of navigation in China. The use by the Aztecs of the bark of various trees for cloth and for paper; their possession of a hieroglyphic system of writing, and of a great number of written volumes, so that the Spaniards have testified that "mountains of them" were heaped up and burnt, after the conquest; their skill in embroidery, and the severity of their punishments, are noticed alike by the European and Chinese authors.

There are several additional points which deserve particular observation. First, the abundance of the peach and pear, which do not flourish northward of China on that continent, whose seeds were probably transported hither from China; in the ballads of whose poets they are introduced eleven hundred years before the commencement of our era. Second, there is no feature of our California scenery more noticed by the tour-

ist, than the vast marshes of the *tulé*, or reeds, which line the shores of the Sacramento and Joaquim rivers, and the bays by which they debouch into the ocean. The tulé seems to nearly correspond with the Chinese *po*, which is probably the reed or water-grass, of the species *typha*, commonly called reed-mace, or cat-tail. Third: it is specified in the Chinese account, that the criminal on trial eats and drinks in the presence of his judges. Of the Aztecs, the historian Prescott says, "the judges wore an appropriate dress, and attended to business both parts of the day—dining always for the sake of despatch in an apartment of the same building where they held their session; a method of proceeding much commended by the Spanish chroniclers, to whom despatch was not very familiar in their own tribunals." Fourth: the abundance of copper, and the want of iron is mentioned; while it is said, "they did not esteem silver and gold." Here again we notice a strange coincidence. "The use of iron, with which their soil was impregnated, was unknown to them. They found a substitute in an alloy of copper and tin; and, with tools made of this bronze, could cut the hardest metals" and stones. The extraordinary assertion that they "did not esteem silver and gold," meets its parallel in the enumeration of the revenue of the Aztec emperor, where the American historian says: "In this curious medley of the most homely commodities and the elegant superfluities of luxury, it is singular that no mention should be made of silver, the great staple of the country in later times, the use of which was certainly known to the Aztecs." Perhaps a thousand years earlier, gold may have been similarly unnoticed, or uncoveted.

Now, when we sum up all these correspondences of Chinese and Spanish history, does it not seem probable, that the people of the East were acquainted with this antipodal continent at, or previous to, the close of the fifth century; that is, in the days of the emperor Justinian, before the overthrow of the Roman Empire, and ten centuries before the flag of Spain or England was lifted upon it by Christopher Columbus, or Sebastian Cabot?

A final and more complete argument might be presented if time permitted, from a general survey of the Aztec civilization,

and a comparison of it with that of the Chinese. The Spanish priest or soldier who crossed the Pacific from the ancient empire of the East, to its counterpart in the West, when he walked its fields might have beheld the same respect paid to agriculture as a profession, the same dependence of government on the products of the soil chiefly for its revenue, and the payment of taxes in kind; also similar modes of irrigation to increase the yield of the earth, and large public granaries in which the excess of the luxuriant harvest was deposited for years of drought and famine. In the place of trade he would have seen the same association of merchants and mechanics into powerful guilds for the protection of their privileges and their prices. In the street the coolies bore the burthen that belongs to the horse or the ass; and there were no wheeled carriages. The soldier strutted by him in armour of quilted cotton, holding the bow and arrows. In the workshop he would have been delighted by the same dazzling exhibition of fine porcelain, of lacker work in wood, of cotton cloth, and of a species of silk spun from a worm, of precious stones skilfully cut and polished, and of different metals splendidly enchased. About the abodes of wealth, he would have wandered in brilliant gardens, containing collections of plants never excelled by any in Europe, adorned by sparkling pools, and airy pavilions, whose graceful pillars were inscribed with poetic or fanciful quotations. Within those abodes he would have witnessed the same regulation of marriage, one proper wife with an unlimited number of inferiors in concubinage; the same jealous separation of males and females at their meals, and the same frivolous employment of highborn females in the arts of embroidery, music, gambling and the toilet. Did he mingle in the social life of the Aztecs, the abundance of sweetmeats at their feasts and the succeeding exhibitions of plays and juggling, the ceremonious gifts, the use of snuff, and the peculiar mode in which the smoke of tobacco was inhaled into the lungs, might have cheated him into the belief that he enjoyed the hospitality of some mandarin of Kwang-tung. Should he converse with a company of students, their attention to astrology, their use of a hieroglyphic and ideographic system of characters in writing, the amazing resemblance of the calendar, and the principle of

the annotation of time, which has been so much remarked by the learned of Europe, nay, even as minute a circumstance as the mode of preserving their books, not in scrolls, but in alternate fanlike folds, would have confirmed his delusion. And how would he have accounted for some things still more confounding, such as that remarkable usage, common to the Chinese and Aztec emperors, of appointing stated days for the public assemblage of their courts to hear something like a hortatory moral discourse addressed to them; or such an institution as the establishment of public literary examinations of prose and poetical compositions, and the bestowment of prizes and rewards to successful candidates?

How can we interpret coincidences so universal, so minute, and so remarkable, save by the presumption of a common origin of the customs, the arts, and the religious institutions, of the Chinese and Aztec nations? And further, is it not probable from this extraordinary retention of the filial form and feelings, that subsequent to the original colonization there were occasional intercommunications between the separated families? And still again, why should it then be thought incredible that the Chinese Fusang is indeed the American California, and that the Oriental discoverers have higher rights and honours, by ten centuries, vested in this soil, than any nation of Europe?

Our attention has been directed to the question of the first peopling and occupation of the American continent, as one of considerable interest; since both the Welsh claims in behalf of their prince Madoc, and the more reliable traditions of the voyages of the Northmen in the eleventh century, may both have to yield the point of honour to that people who long anticipated us in the discoveries of printing, the mariner's compass, and gunpowder, the primary instrumentalities of modern literature, commerce, and war.

Let us turn now, in the second place, to the more practical inquiry, what are *the advantages we may expect to accrue from the influx of this remarkable people?* The tide of emigration across the Pacific is becoming so enormous as to arrest universal attention. In the year 1848, two men and one woman arrived from China. In the months of June and July of the present year, there were landed, 11,025 men, and 15 women. And it

is calculated that at the close of 1852, there was a Chinese population of near 50,000.

There are many that will not welcome the Chinese. It is a serious question, how we shall receive this new element in our republicanism; we are brought so near to empires so ancient and vast, to populations so immense, long civilized, and willing to emigrate; a commerce so valuable; industry so cunning and persistent; and politics and religious sentiments so opposite to ours. It is a question of sublime importance. Mr. Seward's words on this subject are, "Even the discovery of this continent and its islands, and the organization of society and government upon them, grand and important as these events have been, were but conditional, preliminary, and ancillary to the more sublime result, now in the act of consummation—the reunion of the two civilizations, which, parting on the plains of Asia four thousand years ago, and travelling ever afterward in opposite directions around the world, now meet again on the coasts and islands of the Pacific Ocean. Certainly, no mere human event of equal dignity and importance has ever occurred upon the earth. It will be followed by the equalization of the condition of society, and the restoration of the unity of the human family."

In touching at the ports of the populous countries between India and China, and the beautiful islands of the Indian Archipelago, there is nothing the voyager is more impressed with than the superiority of the Chinese to all other races there, save only the Anglo-Saxon. Were the question of encouraging their emigration put to men of intelligence and enlarged views, such as Sir James Brooke, or Sir Henry Pottinger, or the late esteemed American consul at Singapore, Mr. Ballestier, or should we consult the testimonies of such men as Sir Stamford Raffles, or Mr. J. Hunt, it would not long remain without an affirmative. Every one that has marked the course of European colonization in the East, must have remarked the eagerness to secure and increase the influx of Chinese settlers and traffic. The English, especially, have learned the sympathy between a flourishing commerce with China, and the prosperity of their various possessions. Mr. Hunt, for instance, says, "when the Portuguese first visited Borneo, in 1520, the whole island was

in a most flourishing state. The number of Chinese that had settled on her shores was immense. The products of their industry, and an extensive commerce with China, in junks, gave her land and cities a far different aspect from her dreary appearance at this day; and their princes and courts exhibited a splendour and displayed a magnificence which has long since vanished." This is attributed to "the loss of their direct intercourse with China."

Now that the course of events has brought the American people into nearer, easier, cheaper, and more advantageous connection with the Celestial Empire, than England, Holland, Portugal, Spain, or even Russia, can ever hope to enjoy, shall we despise that for which they have made wars, maintained expensive monopolies, and poured out millions of treasure?

First, we need hardly say, *let us encourage Chinese trade.* The possession of the commerce of China and India has enriched the emporiums of Central Western Asia and Egypt from the days of the Pharaohs. Near a hundred millions of dollars' worth of teas, silks and opium, and other articles of traffic are now annually carried, in European bottoms alone, along the China Sea; and an immense trade is carried on, not only by the enterprising Chinese, but by the people of Tungking, Annam, Siam, Corea, Loo-choo, Japan, and other nations. By the Parsee, Arab, and Jewish merchants that resort to Canton and Shanghai, the cloths and toys of China are carried to the very southern extreme of Africa. We may import their manufactures of silk and cotton, their teas, drugs, sugar, spices and sweetmeats; their porcelain, lacker, and cabinet wares; many curious, ingenious, and beautiful works of art; and articles of food and merchandize, used by the people of that country, among us. They may obtain from us minerals, particularly silver, lead, iron, quicksilver and gold; our muslins and other cotton fabrics, broad-cloths, camlets and other woollens, costly furs, and above all, our inventions, some of which they have already introduced and value highly, such as watches, spy-glasses, military weapons, and various kinds of machinery. And the United States is now, it is worth noticing, in a situation more favourable than her European rivals to realize the advantages of the trade with the Chinese, inasmuch as they

themselves are awakened to its importance, and have become the industrious and peaceful agents in its prosecution. The vast results of this commerce, now commencing only, with the east, are utterly beyond all computation or imagination. Mr. Seward, in his recent great speech before the Senate of the United States, inquires—"Who does not see that every year hereafter, European commerce, European politics, European thoughts and European activity, although actually gaining greater force—and European connections, although actually becoming more intimate—will nevertheless ultimately sink in importance; while the Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast regions beyond, will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter?"

But the question of main social interest is that of the *emigration of the people* of China to our soil. Shall we welcome the ancient sons of Han?

It is to be remembered that the "toiling millions of Europe" that have found their way across the Atlantic to the Eastern States, built our railroads, dug our canals, tunnelled our mountains, macadamized our turnpikes, reared our houses, churches and prisons, carried our burdens, and manned our ships, are barred by mountains and seas from those of this remote West. An equivalent provision for the necessities of our vast, rich, important, but wholly unimproved Pacific shore has been made, however, by Providence, if we read it right, in the mission of these Asiatic multitudes. Our own Atlantic States cannot spare a large continued emigration to California. But by the supervision of foreign labour, American knowledge and energy will in time advance California to an equality with the proudest portions of our land.

The first necessity of California is for *agriculturists*. We believe none that are foreigners can be found superior to the Chinese. With cheap and rude implements at home, they obtain, by assiduous toil, an incredible return from their garden-like fields. The small annual amount of rain in California will bring into operation their ingenious modes of irrigation. They will enrich any country where they settle, by the introduction of many of their own valuable vegetables and delicious fruits. Perhaps the efforts to make ours a tea and silk producing

country may then be realized. The English are now using Chinese skill and industry with great success in the cultivation of tea in their province of Assam. And the cheapness of Chinese labourers is an important consideration. In their own country it is sometimes not above three cents a day; among the emigrants on farms in Malacca it is $2.75 to $3 a month. The Spanish are importing thousands of coolies from Amoy to Havana at $4 per month, for the cultivation of cotton. An American traveller among the wild Padang mountains of Borneo, writes, "This valley is inhabited by Chinese, who are wholly devoted to agriculture, and seem contented to receive the treasures of the soil without tearing up the bowels of the earth in search of golden ore. Their gardens afford a rich supply of vegetables of the most luxurious growth, and their beautifully arranged and well tilled fields of rice, present a pleasing contrast to the utter wildness of nature all round."

We need the Chinese as *mechanics*. Sir James Brooke writes concerning those at his colony of Saráwak, "Wherever the Chinese are, the sound of the axe and the saw is to be heard in the woods as you approach, and all are industriously employed. They have their carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, and house builders; while the mass work the antimony ore, or are busy constructing the trench where they find and wash gold. *With such inhabitants a country must get on well if they are allowed fair play.*" Why may *we* not be enriched by the splendid products of Chinese art? Why may not the costly porcelain of Kiang-si, or Fuh-kien, be manufactured from the Nevada quartz? Or the rich silks of Canton be woven in the factories of Pittsburgh? Or the beautiful gold and silver plate of the Chinese goldsmith, be wrought by them in our own shops? There is a boundless field for the employment of their exquisite and patient handiwork, which has been renowned in Europe since the days of Alexander the Great. And, besides, they are quick to learn new arts. Even that of ship-building has not proved beyond their capacity. There is stationed at Canton a fine man-of-war, built for his own government by a native who had been apprenticed to an American mechanic. And ship-building and repairing are largely carried on by Amun, the architect, among foreigners. You may see lying in the Pearl

River, a small steamboat construeted by a native, after the model of those on the Ohio and Mississippi, which he had visited: though, the enterprising builder had not quite enough knowledge of the scientific principles neeessary to make the engine go!

The important *fisheries* on our Pacifie eoast would give employment to a numerous class, whose fleets now sweep the Chinese seas, and deposit their spoils for immediate use, or to be salted for the supply of their home market. Salt fish has sometimes afforded a handsome remuneration to American merchantmen; but eannot be carried to China in large quantities from the Atlantic ports, on aeeount of its rapid deterioration while passing through the tropics by the route of the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Hunt, speaking of the inhabitants of Borneo, says: "The tillage of the ground and the edible fisheries are often left to the more indefatigable industry of the Chinese. For the exercise of every other useful occupation, also—the mechanic and scientific arts, and the labour of the mines—these indolent savages are indebted solely to the superior industry and eultivation of the Chinamen."

We need the Chinese as *servants*. For patienee, docility, readiness to receive instruction, and economy, we are willing to say, emphatically, we have not seen the equals of the Chinese. Yet, without Christian principles, they are not reliable for honesty; but they have still a native sense of honour whieh makes them trusty in many things. We believe the day is eoming, when millions of them, as free hired servants, will have superseded, throughout our country, the use of both Europeans and negroes. It is a grand idea to conceive, that Providenee may thus christianize them as the negro race has been christianized amongst us, to go back to the families of China triumphing in the freedom of the sons of God, and joyful possessors and almoners of the riches of the knowledge of the glory of God in the faee of Jesus Christ.

There are many in the Southern States of this Union now looking to the influx of this remarkable people, with intense interest, as a possible means of relieving themselves from the intolerable burthens of African slavery. We look upon it in its relations to Afriean eolonization, as a providential eompen-

sation. Prosperous, indeed, would be the day for the South, when the nerveless "sons of Ham" shall be supplanted in the labours of the field, the factory, and the fireside, by the subtile and diligent descendants of the renowned dynasty of the "Han." The South may then expect to cope with the North, in agricultural productiveness, in the manufacture of her cotton, and in wealth.

Finally, we need the Chinese as *miners*. Their difficulties in California have arisen from their success in accumulating the coveted treasures of precious metal. We trust, and believe, that they will be settled satisfactorily to all parties. The Chinese miners in the islands of the Indian Archipelago, long continued to work sites abandoned by others. They will find their place as the sub-workers, or the gleaners, of the golden harvest reaped by our own citizens. In the days of Sir Stamford Raffles, the average remittance to China amounted to probably scarce more than two hundred dollars a year. Yet they obtained about five millions per annum from Borneo alone; of which one-sixth only reached China in treasure. About one million was returned in merchandize, and the same amount found its way to the European markets in India, Java, and other colonies, for piece goods, coarse cloths, tobacco, salt, and other articles. So these economical workers, and this class of consumers and traders, we need as well as the rest of their countrymen.

The Chinese are a heathen, and a peculiar people, as yet to us the objects of ignorant wonder and misapprehension. They will soon be better understood and appreciated. Some of their practices have excited great distrust. They are prone to form troublesome guilds, and unite in a species of masonic fraternization. But this is a natural result of their residence under the tyrannical governments, and among the overwhelming masses of population which they have quitted. Governor Bigler's representation of their employment in companies, as *coolies*, by great capitalists at home, is incorrect, as we have learned from the best authorities in China. But they are wise enough to soon understand their danger and their advantages here; and this very opposition will assist their fusion into the mass of American civilization and progress. We believe they

will keep the promise made in the remarkable letter they addressed to Governor Bigler. "If the privileges of your laws are open to us, some of us will doubtless acquire your habits, your language, your ideas, your feelings, your morals, your forms, and become citizens of your country. Many have already adopted your religion in their own, and we will be good citizens. There are very good Chinamen now in the country; and a better class will, if allowed, come hereafter, men of learning and wealth, bringing their families with them." We believe the intellectual countrymen of Ke-ying and Hwang Antung will, in time, be christianized, and add wisdom and dignity even to our halls of legislature.

Let, then, the United States encourage the influx of this people. The wisest of the European colonists in the East, from the noble Legaspi, who founded a Spanish colony in Mindoro, till now, have warmly invited and favoured a Chinese immigration. Ever since their subjugation to the Tartar yoke in 1650, they have been ready to leave their country in large numbers. Wherever their foot has rested, like the fabulous dragon, painted on their imperial standard, they have been the symbol of prosperity. It were unwise to frown upon them. They are a proud, a timid, a peace-loving race, and we may scare them away. California may learn a lesson from the desolations of once rich and prosperous nations and colonies of the East. "The causes which have eclipsed the prosperity of Borneo, and other former great emporiums of Eastern trade," have been traced justly to "the decay of their commerce," which has chiefly resulted from a barbarous commercial despotism, that put a stop to their direct intercourse with China. This, says an intelligent writer, ended in "first the destruction of extensive branches of home industry," and to the fatal effect of preventing the annual immigration of large bodies of Chinese, who settled on their shores, and exercised their mechanic arts and productive industry; thus keeping up the prosperity of the country by the tillage of the ground, as well as in the commerce of their ports." For the want of this commerce, many of these lands, once wealthy and prosperous, "have run to jungle," while their cities have sunk down, "like Carthage, to be mere nests of banditti."

But let us rise to higher considerations. Let us look with the eyes of philanthropists, of Christians, to the advent of those dark masses of heathenism to our shores. They dimly hear the rush among the nations and join with the multitudes. But this is all the ordering of Divine mercy. We dwell in a Christian land; and we behold in these the throng that swelled after the footsteps of a Saviour and cried with blind outstretched hands, "Jesus of Nazareth, have mercy upon us." If the Chinese have hitherto scorned us, it has not been least of all for our vices; if they have feared us, it has been because of our unscrupulous and tremendous superiority in the arts of destruction; if they have hated us, it has been partly because of that terrible and unrepented injury, the opium traffic, and our enforcement of it in bribery or blood, until this day. How mournfully have we merited the common appellatives which foreigners receive among them, of *fankwei*, "foreign devils," *kweitsze*, "devil's children," *pihkwei*, "white devils," *ohkwei*, "wicked devils;" which torture the ears of the Christian as they ring after him, like screams from the bottomless pit, even when he ventures forth on some work of holy beneficence. Britain and America have drained, from this vast but severally not rich people, the incredible sum probably of five hundred millions of dollars in specie—last year the traffic produced to us about forty millions—for a consuming poison. Our hearts would break if we should trace its lava track through the glorious provinces it is filling with black and burning desolation, through the myriads of families it is blasting with ruin and death.

But it is those that love the Lord Jesus Christ, whose affectionate sympathies we would earnestly direct to that portion of this great land where Providence is beckoning a Chinese audience to hear the word of life. The poor Chinaman comes to this country, notwithstanding all his native intelligence, a spiritually degraded being; trembling with a thousand horrible or absurd fears and superstitions. As he bends over the toilsome spade, he fancies that demons haunt those hills and watch their treasures, at whose anger, as expressed in the thunder, he is terrified, and would fain appease them with incense and offerings of fruits and cakes. Not a whisper of the wind, nor the

gurgle of a rill, nor the bark of a dog, but has some dark significance to him. As the missionary comes near him to give him the word of life, he will beseech him piteously not to raise up his umbrella, lest the gold shall all be dissolved and washed away in the stream. Let us hasten to set them free from a misery of soul in this life more dreadful than all those tortures of screws, and lamps and cords, with which, in their own country, they sorely wring out a confession from a presumed or pretended culprit; which is worse than forcing a man to keep upright and without sleep, by stabs, and blows, and pistol shots in his ears, till he dies of fatigue; for it is the torture of Satan and of fiends, over the souls of those who are not "prisoners of hope," but bound in the chains of hell.

But what calls for our greatest concern, is their ignorance of God, and judgment, and eternity. They will bring *here* the gods of their own hills, and rivers, and seas, and sky. Deluded by the enemy of souls, they will bow down and worship their wooden and clay images, instead of Him "who is *God over all blessed for ever.*" They will, ere long, build heathen temples on American soil, and set up their stocks and stones, and offer heathen sacrifices, and prostrate themselves in degrading heathen worship, in this free Christian land! All this they *will* do, unless the gospel is speedily preached to them.

The field of missionary labour in California is a most hopeful one in many respects, which will be readily suggested to every reflecting mind. The most interesting consideration is, that amid the heat and pressure of our religious and social institutions, the character of these young and enterprising emigrants from China must be moulded anew: and many will go back qualified to be preachers of the gospel, to that land whose untold multitudes they left slumbering in darkness and the shadow of death, to pour into its dark caverns and abysses the light of Christianity.

In the city of Naples, Matteo Ripa, a returned missionary from China, of the Roman Catholic order called the "Pious Labourers," whose heart was filled with desire for the conversion of the people of that empire, founded a "Chinese College, and congregation," or order of priests. It was opened in 1732; it is said, "with all the solemnities and rejoicings suitable for the

occasion." It stands and prospers there yet, and is described by occasional travellers to that city. Roman Catholic natives of China and India are brought there and educated for the priesthood. Collegians are expected to take five vows: 1, to live in poverty; 2, to obey their superiors; 3, to enter holy orders; 4, to join the missions in the East, according to the disposition of the Propaganda; 5, to serve for life the Roman Catholic church, without ever entering any other community.

A mission, far better than that of the mistaken but devoted Matteo Ripa, is now undertaken in behalf of our Foreign Board in California, the Italy of this continent, by one whose failure of health, after several years residence in the Chinese province of Canton, compelled his return to this country; but who now joyfully engages in the interesting work which Providence has opened before him, upon our own soil, among those who have followed hither. In the conclusion of what we have to say, the object of which has been to awaken a general and hearty interest in the Chinese, as a nation that probably assisted to populate this continent thousands of years ago, and that replenished its races and its arts, centuries before its discovery by Europeans, and further as a people, that may, if their emigration be encouraged, bestow inestimable benefits on every rood of our Pacific shore, let us solicit the prayers of the friends of the missionary enterprise, that the labours now to be commenced may be blessed of God, and owned, not to the raising up of emissaries of Antichrist, but to the conversion of many of those men to Jesus, who may, in this land and by our means, be fitted to be the instruments of establishing his kingdom in the "land of Sinim." And as so many of the young, intelligent, and energetic sons of the church in this region have gone to that land of gold to obtain wealth, may many remember the words of a Roman Catholic missionary, Francis Xavier, who died in China, "Shall it be said that where others ventured for gold and silver, I was afraid to go for souls?" And may our brethren who have been qualified to preach the gospel, mark the words of the devoted Thomason, when about sailing for India, "I consider that what others expose themselves to, for lucre and worldly honours, ministers ought to endure for nobler ends."

ART. V.—*Theology of the Old Testament.*

Prolegomena zur Theologie des Alten Testaments, von Gust. Fr. Oehler, u. s. w. Stuttgart, 1845. 8vo. pp. 95.

THE expression, Theology of the Old Testament, is not a familiar one to English ears. The idea which it represents is perhaps not much more so to English minds. Certainly the thing holds no adequate place, if it have any place at all, in our theological literature. We hardly admit even a Biblical, as distinguished from a systematic, or from a Church Theology; although in regard to the first, and the last, especially, there is a simple and obvious difference, logically at least, even if not practically, in the point of departure and the methods pursued, if not in the results attained, between a theology which shapes itself by the teachings of the Bible, and a theology which takes its form from the faith of the Church. These may, in point of fact, entirely harmonize. The standards deemed regulative of orthodoxy may coincide precisely with the utterances of Holy Writ. And in that case, the theologian who undertakes to exhibit in systematic order the truths of Scripture, would have to go over exactly the same ground, and occupy in all the same position, as he who aims at presenting the belief of the Church. And it might consequently be found more convenient, as well as serve a number of valuable ends, to combine these two things together, rather than to treat them separately. It may be advisable to unfold the Confession of Faith and the Bible in connection, rather than apart, that thus an opportunity may be taken, not only to show what the teachings of each are, but also to show that these are identical, or rather, that the former is simply based upon or drawn from the latter. And yet, whatever may be said in favour of this combination, whatever convenience may attend it, and whatever advantages may follow from it, it is neither necessary nor desirable to forget that they are, in conception at least, distinct. It is an important Protestant principle, that the standards of the Church are her standards, not for their inherent value, but only because they represent the Bible; and that they ought to be her

standards only in so far as they represent the Bible. If they swerve from that, the true and highest norm of faith and duty, their authority is null, and they ought in so far to be discarded. Church dogmas are of worth only in so far as the Church has held fast to the lively oracles of infallible truth; only in so far as the faith of the Church coincides with the faith once delivered to the saints. The standard of her faith, which she has for important reasons framed for herself, may not be put upon a par with the divinely inspired sources of her faith, as though those had, like these, an original underived authority. And for this reason, it may be well that the distinction between Biblical and Church theology should be stated and remembered, even though it may not be practically observed. It is not a matter of course, however, that they should even harmonize, much less coincide. They have not always been harmonious in fact.

The condition of the church here may be a reason why this distinction has not been more insisted on amongst us;—why it has either not been made or has been esteemed unimportant. All diversities of theological belief have their representatives in the numerous denominations of Christians, with their proper symbols, and their well understood distinguishing sentiments. Every man may thus seek his proper affinity in the ranks of those like minded with himself, or failing to discover such, may head an independent sect of his own. Every one may accordingly find in the belief of that branch of the church to which he is attached, the counterpart of what he personally holds to be the teaching of the Bible. Biblical theology and Church theology are thus to him the same, or differ only in the aspect under which the same body of truth is contemplated.

An altered condition of things can, however, be readily conceived, which would naturally and necessarily bring the distinction between these two modes of theology into greater prominence. Suppose, for example, that it should become a matter of doubt and controversy in any communion, what the settled and proper faith of that communion was. Suppose, that the strifes which rose, concerned questions like those now agitating the Episcopal Church, not only in this country, but in Britain, regarding the true intent of the Prayer Book, or like those some

years since, in the bosom of our own communion, touching the tenets of the Presbyterian Church. And if, still farther, as was the case in the Quaker controversy, the denominational creed was to be found, not in definite articles or symbols of faith, but in a great number of voluminous writings belonging to different occasions, different periods, and even different countries, and these ambiguous perhaps, or perhaps contradictory upon the points in dispute; it can be easily seen, that in such a case the distinction must be made. What is the faith of the Bible? What is the faith of the Church? would be totally distinct questions; each would possess an independent importance; and they would of necessity, be treated separately.

Again, suppose a different case. One may be imagined in which the faith of the church was perfectly well understood, and no controversy could be raised upon that ground; but many within her pale, whether constituting a majority or not, whether following one road or not, had departed from her recognized tenets. Now, let it be assumed, either that the church creed was right, or that it was wrong; in either case there will be a juncture which cannot fail to suggest and to bring out the distinction already several times referred to. This case is not a merely imaginary one in either of its aspects. Besides numerous other exemplifications of it, which might be named, the period of the Reformation is an instance of the former; the counter revolution in Europe in the last century, in which a shallow rationalism took the place of the Reformers' faith, though still retaining the Reformers' symbols, affords an instance of the latter. And this last was really the occasion and the time which gave birth to Biblical Theology in its present sense, and as a study to be separately pursued.

It does not, however, fall within the limits of the theme suggested by the treatise before us, to discuss the subject of Biblical Theology generally, nor even to raise the question with regard to its desirableness; accordingly, we pass this by, and advance nearer to our proper theme, by remarking, that if Biblical and dogmatic Theology have thus to so great an extent coalesced amongst us, it was scarcely to be expected that any clear separation would have been effected between the different branches of Biblical Theology itself. A salutary fear of mar-

ring the unity of the sacred volume, may have had something to do with restraining the formation of an Old Testament, as distinguished from a New Testament, Theology, and within the latter again of further subdivisions, such as a Petrine or Pauline Theology, or that of the beloved disciple. We must not be understood to sanction either the principles or the methods of many of those who have admitted these distinctions, and who have undertaken to carry them out. We have neither fellowship nor sympathy with those who would sunder the real and intimate bond of union between all the sacred writers, by ignoring or denying the directing influences of the Holy Spirit, by whom all were moved. Regarding merely their human origin, they entirely isolate the books of Scripture, as the work of independent thinkers; or esteem them to have had no more connection with each other than that they are occupied with the same or similar subjects, and were the products of the same age, and of a similar congeries of influences. This is to overlook the very thing which makes the Bible what it is; the very thing which gives to it its chief value for us and for the world. The Bible is a unit; not, however, as a uniform undistinguishable mass is a unit; but as a system combining many and various parts, yet all constructed and arranged under the guidance of one master mind, and all harmonizing, all governed by one pervading principle; all conspiring to one grand and worthy result. A machine has unity in spite of its complication; or rather the sense of unity, which beholding it produces, is heightened by reason of the very complication of its parts; its wheels moving upon wheels with their various velocities and directions, yet no interference, no jarring, all necessary to the end of its formation. A tree has unity, with its roots, its trunk, its branches, its leaves, diverse, yet the same. The pure ray of light, as it comes to us direct from heaven, is one; and yet it has all the prismatic colours beautifully blended within it.

While investigations into the varied exhibitions of truth, to be met with in different parts of the sacred volume, may be so conducted as to interfere with the unity of the whole, they need not be. Nor does a just regard for the divine character and inspiration of the sacred volume, require that these should

be overlooked, or thrust into a corner as insignificant and unimportant. There is no impropriety in the admission that there are peculiarities of style and diction belonging to each of the sacred writers; and no harm is done by investigating what these are. On the contrary, they have a place and an importance which every critical student of the Scriptures knows. Neither is there any more impropriety in admitting peculiarities, not barely in the mode of conceiving and presenting truth, but in the truths themselves presented, whether as to the degree of clearness with which they are set forth, or the position which they occupy in the scheme of revelation. Only our admissions must not outrun the reality, and our investigations must be conducted fairly and on sound and sober principles, not for the sake of inventing or proving a theory, but of discovering the facts as they exist. That mechanical view of the nature of inspiration which would take offence at such investigations, or be alarmed at their results, finds no warrant in the teachings of Scripture, and no support in the phenomena which it exhibits.

If the Spirit of truth, in communicating to the world the way of salvation, chose to make use of not one man as his organ, but many, and those in different ages, from different ranks of life, trained under different circumstances, and with different mental constitutions and habits, had he not a design in all this? Or by what principle of faith or of religion can we be required to shut our eyes upon it if he had? If Holy Scripture, instead of presenting a dead level, contains the most grandly beautiful diversities of scenery, why may we not delight our eyes with beholding, whilst we are busying ourselves with gathering the rich grain from its surface, or with digging the precious ores from its bosom? Or rather, if there is not only a beauty which may please but a heavenly meaning in all this; if there is here a confirmation of the divine original of the Bible, and valuable suggestions as to the true character and intent of the Bible, why must we be denied the instruction no less than the gratification hence afforded?

If the wondrous constitution of the Bible is such as of itself to evidence, from first to last, one guiding superintending mind, acting above and through the human instruments; if it can be

shown that there was a mind engaged in framing the earlier portions of the sacred record, and in conducting the earlier portions of the sacred history, who was all the while intimately and profoundly conscious of the whole that was to come after, though not unfolded for centuries upon centuries; is not this a fact to be observed and pondered? If this can be shown not only in a prediction here and there which lies upon the surface, but if it has penetrated the framework of the whole, and the proofs become more marked and multiplied the farther and the deeper we push our investigations; if even what at first sight seemed random and unconcerted, perhaps conflicting, is upon renewed examination perceived to fall in exactly with a regular and consistent plan; and it is seen at the close more clearly than it could possibly be discovered before, that all has been driving towards one issue, evidently designed from the first and aimed at throughout, though the human actors could have had but a faint anticipation of it, even if any whatever, then here is a proof which none can controvert of divine superintendence and guidance. Now if all this be in the Scriptures, or any thing approaching or resembling it, which is the more culpable, he who searches it out, or he who refuses to see it himself and hinders those who would?

To confine ourselves, however, to the Old Testament, the advantages are evident and unquestionable which would be derived from a thorough and systematic exhibition of its contents distinctly and by themselves, whether taken as a whole or considered in their gradual development from the patriarchal germs. Such a careful tracing out of all the facts and a presentation of them in their mutual relations and their ulterior bearings is necessary to a proper comprehension of the Old Testament, of the religion which it embodies, and the connection between it and the revelations of the New. In fact, if we would rightly understand the whole scheme of revelation, we must first get clear and definite conceptions of its opening stage. By some it may be imagined that the character of the former dispensation is sufficiently obvious without the need of any deep investigation. But such a thought only betrays the shallowness of their acquaintance with the subject, who are capable of cherishing it. There is room for the most elaborate and

profound inquiry: and this will be amply repaid by discoveries not only interesting and unexpected, but valuable in the highest degree. It is in this case as in that of many other works of God. The superficial observer passes them by as undeserving of attention; but the profound student tarries long, and the longer he examines, the more cause he sees to wonder and adore. If now a clear and succinct account of the religion of the Old Testament be asked for, which shall be at once comprehensive and minute, embodying the facts and revelations of the former dispensation in systematic or generic order, and without any foreign elements, those acquainted with English and American Theology will know how many works there are within the range of our literature in which it can be found. They will know whether there is a single one which even undertakes to present such an account, or once grapples fairly with the questions which it involves, however imperfectly or inadequately the task may be performed.

But apart from the dearth of comprehensive and systematic exhibitions of the theology and religion of the former dispensation, the elucidation of individual points, where that has been attempted, has not been all that could be desired. This is in fact what might have been expected. The want of a just conception of the whole must lead to erroneous or defective views of the several parts. Besides, the points examined have been superficially and incidentally touched upon, rather than thoroughly and *ex professo* investigated. Or when a more elaborate attention has been bestowed upon them, as for example, upon the Mosaic doctrine of atonement, it has been more for the purpose of gathering arguments for a New Testament doctrine, than with the view of an independent inquiry into the ideas, which the old economy bodied forth.

The thing complained of is not that the Old Testament has not been studied, nor that it has been left out of sight in our theology; but that one particular method of study has been overlooked which might be applied to it with eminent advantage—advantage both to our theology in general, and to our understanding of that large portion of the Scriptures in particular. It has been too little studied in itself. Sufficient attention has not been paid to its significance and its value to those who

lived while the former dispensation still lasted. It has not been regarded enough exactly in that light in which it chiefly presents itself as an earnest and a type of good things to come. Some sunder completely the connection of the two dispensations, others almost identify them. And where in general statements the true religion is admitted, this is lost sight of again in the details. The business of an expositor is simply to deal with the materials which he finds before him, to unfold, elucidate and arrange them. Instead of this, we too often find in the expositions of this part of Scripture, foreign ideas brought in from other quarters and intermingled with the instructions of Moses and the prophets, if not actually substituted for them. Those who have undertaken to handle the Jewish Scriptures, have been wont for the most part to tend toward one of two extremes, the precise opposites of each other in spirit and aims, and including between them a multitude of subordinate forms as they are variously modified and combined. These may be characterized as belonging respectively to the unbelieving and to the believing interpreter. The first empties the text of its meaning; the second overloads it. The first would make all shallow enough to be fathomed by the human understanding and to be explained from natural causes. The second would make the seed contain not the germ of the tree, but the tree itself, and would obliterate all that divides the inception from the consummation. The first would degrade the Old Testament by striking out of it all that distinguishes it as a supernatural revelation. The second would exalt it unduly by striking out all that marks it as an incomplete revelation, each then filling after its own fashion the void thus arbitrarily created.

The method of unbelief deals with the religion of Israel as it does with those of the heathen world. In its earlier phases it assumed all to be alike downright impostures, in which an ignorant people were the dupes of crafty priests, or designing rulers. And here, as has but too frequently been the case in the history of religious opinion, the friends of truth, by the lameness of their defences, played into the hands of its foes, and supplied them with weapons and arguments from their own magazine. The case of sacrifices must have been deemed almost desperate,

when their very unreasonableness and absurdity could be made, by Shuckford, the gist of their defence; and it could be argued that, inasmuch as no rational ground of their institution existed or was conceivable, they must have been of divine origin. The legislation of Moses must have been in straits, when Bishop Warburton could adduce in proof of his divine legation, the inferiority of his enactments—contending that the state he founded must have been under extraordinary divine protection, or it could never have held together. It would be better, with Spencer, to regard these institutions as yielded in accommodation to an ignorant and superstitious people; or, with Michaelis, to give them at least the praise of political sagacity and legislative skill, notwithstanding the meager flatness of his views, and the puerile length to which he carried them.

This purely rationalistic form of opposition, by which the half of man's nature is ignored, and all that is religious in religion is denied, has passed away; we may hope, for ever. Even the religions of the heathen are not explicable as priestcraft, or as political contrivance. No intelligent account can be given of them which leaves out of sight the fact that man's spirit has cravings and needs, which must in some way, appointed or self-devised, seek or find a fanciful or real satisfaction. The ground of unbelief is consequently so far shifted, as to claim that Judaism, like pagan forms of belief and worship, was a simple outgrowth of natural religious feelings; the form in which they were developed being in each case modified or determined by the circumstances in which they found their exercise. Judaism, like paganism, had its temple, its altars, its priesthood, its mythology.

Acting on the sound principle, "*fas est et ab hoste doceri*," we cheerfully admit, that distorted and false as this view is, it nevertheless encloses an element of truth which we must take into our theory, if we would have it perfectly adjusted to the facts. The religious nature and the religious necessities of the Hebrew and the pagan were the very same. The instinct of the latter led him on to grope darkly after a satisfaction of those very wants and longings, which were fully met in the revelation granted to the former. The religion of the Old

Testament did not present, even in its types, mere shadowy forms of coming good, empty and unsubstantial for the present. It was not an aggregate of arbitrary institutions, established for the bare purpose of imaging forth what lay in the far distant future. While it pointed onward, it had a value and a reality for the present too. It was designed for, and it was adapted to the then pressing wants of those to whom it was given. It was set to awaken and express religious emotions; to open afresh the interrupted intercourse with God; to restore his lost favour to them by whom it had been forfeited; and to body forth the sentiments that were felt, or should be felt, of homage, and thanksgiving, and self-consecration. Though not the spontaneous growth of man's religious feelings, it was precisely accordant with them, or rather, with what those feelings ought to be. There is an intimate correspondence between the religion of the Old Testament and man's spiritual nature. What our Saviour declares regarding one institution, was true of the whole; all was made for man. This relation of correspondence, existing between the nature of man and Judaism, is not so aptly represented by that of the seal to the wax upon which it has impressed its own image, as by that of the lock to the key which threads its intricacies and moves its bolts, because it has been fitted to it by the maker of them both.

The prime error of this theory, however, and that which necessarily vitiates all its conclusions, is, that it overlooks entirely, or denies both the supernatural character and the objective truth of the Jewish religion. These are just what distinguish it from the religions of the heathen, and *toto cœlo* prevent its being ranked upon an equality with them. The same necessities and wants lie at the basis of both. This constitutes all that is real and striking in their resemblance. In the one, but not in the other, God has revealed the remedy, and that not fictitious or imaginary, but real. This constitutes the heaven-wide divergence. The error is the same, whether a revelation of God to Israel is denied, or is asserted as part of a universal and continuous revelation to or in all nations, and running through all time. The peculiarity of this religion, by

which it is absolutely sundered from all contemporaneous systems, is in either case destroyed.

A second error attaching to this theory, and the only additional one which will be named here, is that of assuming an identity on the mere ground of a resemblance in outward forms, without regard to the spirit embodied in them. This is, as though an etymologist were to make similarity of sound his sole test of community of origin between words, and to pay no regard either to their meaning or to their history. Spencer's derivation, not only from similar, but from opposite forms, is wider still of the mark, and has even less to recommend it than "lucus a non lucendo." Nothing is more common than for scattered sentences, here and there, to be culled from the writings of Confucius, for example, and set over against similar expressions in the Bible; and the inference is tacitly suggested or openly drawn, that the Chinese philosopher has fallen but little behind the revelation of God. The language of the Greek respecting Zeus, or the inscription on the Isis temple at Sais,* is quoted as parallel with the doctrine of Jehovah's eternity and unsearchableness. The rites of pagan worship are, on the ground of the slightest external similitude, held up as identical with those of the Mosaic ceremonial. The fragment torn from its connection may be dressed up to assume quite a different appearance from that which belongs to it in the scheme of which it is part, and from which, if it is to be estimated aright, it must not be sundered. The canon insisted upon by Bähr, in regard to the Levitical symbols, is the only sensible one in that and in all similar cases. "The symbolic worship in general and in particular, must represent such ideas and truths as agree with the acknowledged and clearly uttered principles of the Mosaic religion. Conceptions and ideas foreign and opposed to the spirit of this religion, or expressly rejected by it, to which there is never an allusion nor a reference, cannot possibly be signified by its symbols." No canon can be more self-evident than this, and yet none has been more frequently and grossly

* Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus shall be.—*Pausan.*

I am all that has been, and is, and shall be; and my robe no mortal has ever uncovered.—*Plut. in Is. et Osir.*

violated. To all proper understanding of any ancient system of religion, and above all, of Judaism, it is obviously essential that this rule be rigidly adhered to. And if it be, it will destroy this equalizing of the heathen and Jewish religions, root and branch.

Before turning away from the phases of unbelief, it will be well to take a view of the attitude assumed by the modern philosophy of Germany toward the Old Testament. We are glad here to have the brief but interesting sketch furnished by our author, which as coming from a native we presume may be safely followed. The work which led the way in this field was Kant's "Religion within the bounds of Reason." Kant there maintained the relative necessity of a positive religion. The categorical imperative of the moral law that the radically evil must be overcome with good, can only be realized in mankind as a whole by the establishment of an ethical commonwealth, in which the moral law shall be the ruling principle. Such an ethical commonwealth can only be established by means of religion, which must take on a statutory form, since men always need the confirmation of sense for the truths of reason. This statutory law must be prescribed under divine authority; by it as a vehicle of the religion of reason, men must train themselves to free morality. Kant was not, however, so favourably inclined towards the Old Testament, as these principles might seem to indicate. He had a strong antipathy against it on account of its restrictions, and because it did not teach the doctrine of immortality, and against the Mosaic law in particular, because its enactments were political rather than moral, and were not based on moral motives.

According to the system of Hegel, there are three stages in the progress of religion: nature-worship—the religion of subjectivity, or spiritual individuality, in which the divinity is conceived of as free, self-determining, and pursuing definite ends—and finally the absolute religion. The second of these stages includes three forms, represented respectively by the Jewish, Greek, and Roman religions. In each of these, the religious idea is developed in one particular direction. They mutually supply each other's deficiencies, and from their combination and mutual action results Christianity, which is the absolute

religion. Judaism, therefore, stands related to Christianity, and is preparatory to it, but no more so, nor in fact so much as the religions of the Greek and Roman; for it is lower in the scale than either of these. Judaism put an irreconcilable breach between God and nature. Its God is an infinite and independent spirit, on whom all that is natural and finite is simply and absolutely dependent. This God reveals himself in nature, but is superior to the manifestation of himself in the natural world and distinct from it. The breach here created is in a measure filled up in the religion of the Greek, which looks upon the natural as the sign of the spiritual, and clothes the divine in a multitude of human forms; thus standing more nearly related than Judaism to the incarnation of Christianity. It fails however to gather these up again into the proper unity, linking them only outwardly by subjecting all to inexorable fate. Judaism again gave to its infinite Deity aims, which in their realization at least were restricted and local, and by this contradiction wrought its own destruction. The religion of Rome strode after universal empire. By the might of arms and the favour of its gods, it annihilated or incorporated within itself the local deities of other nations, and over the ruins of the ancient world prepared the way for the advent of the absolute religion.

It is useless to argue with a thing so airy and intangible as a German philosophy: and it would carry us too far from our purpose to attempt restoring every thing to its true place after all has been thus confusedly whirled topsy-turvy. We shall only allow ourselves to say a few words in reply to the statements more distinctly put forth in the above summary.

With all the Jew's immeasurable superiority above the Greek, he is not one whit behind him, even in the point in which they are here compared. The Greek, instead of having attained to the knowledge of the infinite separation between the divine and the human, and advanced beyond that to some imperfect conception of the reconciliation and union of the two, which was to be effected in the person of Christ, had not yet risen to the conception of a God distinct from, and supreme above, the powers and objects of nature. And when its rising systems of philosophy exposed the fallacies and

absurdities of the popular superstition, the Greek religion staggered to its fall, from its inability to grasp and to present that most elementary of all conceptions of the true God, which Judaism had carried in its bosom from its origin.

Nor was the Jew behind the Roman. Judaism was from the first, and through all its course as unrestricted in its ultimate aims touching the spiritual reign of righteousness, which it was sent to introduce, as Rome was in its unhallowed lust of worldly power. And the frustration of Rome's ambition stands in signal contrast with the accomplished, or at least accomplishing design of the religion of the patriarchs and the prophets, to whose enlargement it is the highest glory of the temporary successes of the imperial city to have been subsidiary.

Nor do these several religions stand in any thing like a coordinate relation to Christianity. This is, and always has announced itself, not the resultant of the various religious forces previously existing in the world, but the legitimate offspring of Judaism alone. Its God is the God of Abraham, its faith the faith of Abraham, its believing adherents the children of Abraham, its inheritance the promises made to Abraham. The Gentiles so far from possessing a religion related to Christianity as was that of the Jews, are declared to have had no hope and to have been without God in the world. And the fact that the gospel found even more adherents from Greeks than Jews, instead of proving the larger antecedent riches of the former, proves rather their deeper destitution and their keener sense of poverty.

Some disciples of the Hegelian school have undertaken to apply the principles of their master to the Old Testament in detail. Vatke in his book, by a singular misnomer called Biblical Theology, distinctly announces it to have been his method, first, to determine speculatively what ideas must have unfolded themselves in the history, and in what order—to determine, *e. g.*, what the history ought to say as to the progress of religion, and with this settled beforehand to advance to the exposition. Here his aim is not to verify his theory nor to correct it by the facts, but to correct the facts by it. The strangest perversions are of course the consequence, and that

not in theology alone, but in criticism. These ever mutually corroborate or pervert each other. A correct theology is a staunch friend to a sound criticism. And a false theology is apt to betray its unsoundness by the necessity under which it lies of tampering with the truth of the history or with the genuineness of the record. The extravagancies of Vatke find a fitting refutation in a kindred work from the same school, Bruno Bauer's Religion of the Old Testament. This is throughout polemical against Vatke, and is equally baseless and destructive with that which it opposes. They are well illustrated by the chemical phenomenon of two poisons equally malignant, acting as the antidotes of each other.

But we have dwelt long enough in the region of unbelief. It is sufficiently apparent that it is vain to look there for a correct estimate of the religion and the theology of the Old Testament. By an easy, though not a necessary reaction from the error of those who would empty the first half of the Bible of its meaning, believing interpreters have gone to the opposite extreme, which though incomparably less injurious and offensive than the other, is still an extreme, and as such aside from the results of a just exposition, and needing to be corrected.

As was already intimated in the outset, the usual method of theology is to reduce the entire Scriptures to one uniform homogeneous mass, from the whole of which thus blended, the system of truth is drawn. The Old Testament and the New are ranged precisely upon a level, and proof-texts are taken indifferently from one or from the other. No clear distinction is drawn and maintained between their teachings, as to their relative perfection or the clearness of their announcement. Such a distinction is admitted to exist theoretically, and in the general; but practically, and in the details, it is neglected or lost sight of. No adequate conception is gained of the truths of the former economy, as a body, in their relation to the more fully unfolded, or more plainly established truths of the New. The result is, that instead of being gainers, we are really the losers by this method, even in regard to the defence of our Christian theology. Where the germ of a truth lay in the earlier Scriptures, and this meets its legitimate expansion in those that come after, a just and systematic conception of the Old Tes-

tament would lead at once to the detection of that germ, however undeveloped or remote in appearance from the form which it was afterwards to assume; and the argument could be pressed directly and forcibly from that to the unfolded flower and the ripened fruit, while it could be shown, from the system in which it was found, why that truth in particular was in its germinal, rather than in its unfolded state. On the method which overlooks the distinction between the Testaments, and throws all together as a common repertory of theological truth, we would in the case supposed, be obliged, in proving our doctrine, either to force a meaning upon texts which they do not bear, or to admit that the proof is partial and defective, when we might and ought to claim that it is real and complete, all that could be expected or need be desired.

It is to confound the nature of the two dispensations to attempt to bring every thing into the old, with the same fulness and distinctness as in the new. Thus there are plain intimations in the Old Testament, of a trinity of persons in the Godhead, and the deity of the Messiah is very largely taught; and yet the attempt to make these fundamental doctrines of Christianity equally prominent in Judaism, must lead to the forcing of texts, and to resting upon insecure arguments. The immortality of the soul was a part of the creed of ancient saints, but there is no need of assuming that they knew all which Christ and his Apostles have taught us. And while, no doubt, Moses and the patriarchs knew far more of religious truth, and of the plan of mercy, than many are disposed to allow, still this does not justify the extravagant lengths to which others have gone in their ideas of the extent of revelation made beyond that which has been left on record; so much so, indeed, that it is hard to see how they would defend themselves against traditionists who claim this very thing in regard to the New Testament. Similar extravagant assumptions have been made with regard to their acquaintance with scientific and all other truth, as though Moses must have known as much about the origin and constitution of the universe as that Being who commissioned him, or as though dishonour were put upon our first father, by supposing him ignorant of steam or of the electric telegraph.

It is an error not to recognize the seeds of New Testament doctrine in the very earliest portions of the Old Testament; but then it is also an error to confound those seeds with the perfect growth which sprang from them. There is, in this, no approach to Manichean or to Gnostic depreciation of the Jewish Scriptures. These emanated from the same divine source with the writings of the Apostles. They are equals of the latter in inspiration; and in their spirit and essence they are of the same universal and perpetual obligation. There was that about them, however, which was temporary. Their revelations of truth, however clear and glorious in themselves, were, as compared with those which have succeeded them, partial and imperfect, designedly so; and it casts no imputation upon the wisdom or the goodness of their divine author that they were so. It is from failing to recognize this, that the types have been made in many hands to teach all the mysteries of the Christian faith; and the prophecies have been found so full and explicit as almost to render the gospels superfluous. A just idea of the relation of the two economies will save us from all temptation to allegorize, to multiply our assumption of double senses to a needless and unprofitable extent, or to employ any of that variety of means and applications which have been adopted to bring out meanings from the text which evidently are not there, to the neglect too often of the meaning no less important and far more obvious in its bearing upon Christian truth which really is there. From these and the like errors on the part of interpreters, it has happened many a time that the arguments drawn from the former dispensation to the present, even where there is abundant room for them to be strongly built, and on independent foundations, are vitiated by a needless and unworthy *petitio principii*.

The little treatise which has suggested this train of remark is not a Theology of the Old Testament, but simply Prolegomena, in which the writer's views are given as to the outline of such a work, and the principles upon which it should be conducted. It is written with not a little ability; but some of the sentiments which it betrays cannot be regarded as unexceptionable, at least by American theologians. Oehler is a strenuous defender of the supernatural character of the Old Testament,

and of its intimate connection with the New. And from occasional glimpses of his sentiments, we are led to infer that upon many important theological questions he would be found to be right. But the development theory which he has adopted, and seems disposed to carry out in the most rigid manner, has vitiated his views of inspiration, and leads him not infrequently to an undue depreciation of the Old Testament. Nevertheless, we shall be pleased to see his promised work, whenever it appears; for whatever its deficiencies or its errors, we hardly think that it can fail to prove a valuable contribution to a much neglected branch of theological literature.

He divides Old Testament theology into three portions, as found respectively in the books of Moses, in the writings of the prophets, including both the prophecies properly so called, and the theocratic history, and in the writings of the sacred poets. The system of religion, as revealed through Moses, lies at the foundation, and includes within itself both the patriarchal and the ante-patriarchal revelations. These being presented in Genesis, under the aspect of a preparation for, or an introduction to, the covenant of God with Israel, belong properly to the Mosaic system itself, as a constituent of its religious faith, as the account which it gives of its own origin.

This Mosaic system was farther enlarged, on the one hand, by the providential leadings of God in the history of his people, and by the inspired communications of the prophets. This falls under the second division. Then the third shows how it was again enlarged on the other hand, by the struggles and questionings which it occasioned in the minds and hearts of holy men, as they strove to fulfil its tasks, to master its principles, and to solve its problems. What he says under this head, looks very much as though he meant to deny any other influence of the Spirit of God in this part of Scripture, than that exerted in the sanctification of the writers. The lyric poetry of the Psalms is the domain of religious feeling, striving to reconcile existing contrarieties between the idea and the outward manifestation, not by pointing to a future realization which is the method of the prophets, but by seeking a realization in their own experience, and by faith already appropriating the blessings of a salvation yet to be achieved. The didactic poetry of other

books is the domain of reflection. In Proverbs, the enigmas and contradictions of the present state are almost lost from sight, in the contemplation of the divine order which has been established and now exists in the world. And the realization of the divine purpose, by an active conformity to the will of God, is presented as at once the duty and the wisdom of man. In the book of Job, these enigmas have forced themselves upon the soul with all their formidable difficulties, and in the struggle after their solution which ensues, anxious questionings are awakened as to the truth of the Old Testament idea of God, or the reality of his providential government. The book, though not without some presentiments of a higher solution, takes refuge at last in the mysteries of the divine wisdom, and then falls back again into the view of the matter from which it had set out as confirmed by the events at their close. In Ecclesiastes there has been the same struggle, and it has been fought through; but the result is not the solution, but despair of it. The highest wisdom is placed in resignation; man is to use the things of this vain world as he best can, committing all to the sovereign pleasure of a sovereign God. A conviction is thus reached, of the insufficiency of the Old Testament stand point, and a negative preparation is thus furnished for the clearer revelations of the New, the positive preparation being given in the writings of the prophets.

In conclusion, we only add, for the information of such of our readers as may feel an interest in the subject, a few words respecting the better class of German works in this department. We pass by all those in silence, which are vitiated by rationalistic sentiments, or even worse. The Lectures on the Theology of the Old Testament, by Steudel, (1840), and those by Hävernick, (1848), both of them posthumous publications, stand on believing and evangelical ground, although allowance must be made in both cases for peculiarities of individual views. The essays by Hengstenberg on the theology of the books of Moses, in his Authentie des Pentateuchs, and on the theology of the Psalms, at the close of his Commentary, are among the most valuable contributions to these portions of the general subject.

Art. VI.—*The Ventilation of Churches.*

The Uses and Abuses of Air; showing its influence in sustaining Life, and producing Disease; with remarks on the ventilation of houses, and the best methods of securing a pure and wholesome atmosphere inside of dwellings, churches, court-rooms, workshops, and buildings of all kinds. Three parts in one. New York: J. S. Redfield, 1849.

The subject of this treatise is justly exciting great and increasing attention. But there are few who yet appreciate its great importance. It needs and it is destined to be urged upon the public mind in popular treatises, tracts and lectures, before it will command the consideration it merits. We welcome this volume, of which Mr. Griscom, of New York, is understood to be the author, as a valuable contribution to this important object. The main positions of his book have, of course, been long familiar to scientific men. His aim is to popularize them, to make them understood and felt by the people. And we think the effort is timely, judicious, and successful. He sets before the reader an array of well-selected facts and illustrations, which cannot fail to enlighten and impress the dullest mind.

People have displayed a singular apathy in regard to the evils and mischiefs of bad air; and whoever now undertakes to introduce the subject to those who have never examined it, confronts an incredulity, which is as obstinate as it is discouraging. There is a reason for this. The air is an impalpable substance, and its qualities, whether salubrious or malignant, are ordinarily imperceptible to those who inhale it. Those, indeed, who pass from the pure outer air to an ill-ventilated or crowded room, will unavoidably perceive the difference. But those who have been constantly breathing vitiated air, are insensible to it, except as they suffer a certain indescribable languor and depression caused by it. Not only so; but the diseases induced by bad air, are gradual, stealthy, and insidious in their progress. They do not attract notice till they are rooted, too often incurably, in the system; and when they are thus fastened upon us, their real cause is seldom suspected.

Men are slow to believe that any poison lies hidden in the air they breathe, or that any artificial appliances are necessary to improve the atmosphere. It is true, that the air in its normal state, in which God has supplied it to us in boundless profusion, cannot be improved. All that is needed is, that we secure a bountiful supply of this pure element for the use of our own lungs, and that we provide sufficient means for displacing, or cleansing, such as has been corrupted from its original purity.

This subject deserves a place in our Journal, not only because educated men, such as constitute the bulk of our readers, must be the first to appreciate and begin all salutary reforms, but because in various ways clergymen have a special interest in the subject. All persons of sedentary and in-door pursuits, suffer great injury from occupying ill-ventilated apartments, in which the air is close, murky, and dead. We believe that it frequently happens, that the languor, debility, and indigestion, of which the clergy so often complain, is due, in a great measure, to the foul air which they constantly breathe in a tight, narrow room, heated by a close stove or drum, without any means of ventilation. Whoever passes from the fresh atmosphere into such a room, quickly suffers oppression and stupefaction. A still greater number, as we believe, have suffered still more severely, from conducting evening services in school-rooms and basements, in which what little air is contained between the low ceilings and floors, is quickly respired again and again by the assembly, who, aided by the lamps and fires, rapidly use up its oxygen, or vitalizing element. There is little doubt that preaching, and taxing the vocal organs, in such an atmosphere, and then exposing them in this excited and inflamed state, to the damp cold air of the night, have been a prolific cause of that scourge of ministers, the bronchitis. Not only so, but every preacher has often had painful experience of the debilitating effect of a close, dead atmosphere upon his hearers. He has seen them dull and drowsy under the most instructive discourses, the most impassioned and eloquent appeals. He has found this invincible stupor assailing and overpowering his most devout hearers in spite of themselves. He has known that the cause of this

apathy lay more in the lifeless air, than in his discourse, or the minds and hearts of his people. Bad air thus becomes a most formidible obstacle to the success of his labours and the edification of his flock. Still further, the clergy are leading friends and promoters of education. They justly take the deepest interest in schools. We believe that the bad air of nine-tenths of the school-rooms in this country works fearful injury to teachers and pupils, in body and mind, in their health, studies, manners, and morals.

In the views which we shall now submit, we shall do little more than condense some of the reasonings, statements, and facts, adduced by our author, hoping that our readers will be induced to examine for themselves, this or some similar treatise.

The first question that arises is, whether impurities in the atmosphere, perceptible or imperceptible, are noxious or harmless to those who inhale them. General facts, familiar to all, sufficiently answer. They show, beyond all doubt, that the atmosphere is often loaded with poisons impalpable to the senses, known only in the fatal consequences to those who inhale it. Ship-fever, jail-fever, yellow-fever, are most clearly owing to the state of the air in which they always originate and spread. It would be easy to show that the same is largely true of the typhus, puerperal, and all the worst fevers which scourge our race. The best safe-guard against them is good air and regular habits; the most effective antidote to their power and contagion is a reasonable ventilation of the rooms of the patients. The same is true of any epidemic or contagious disease, every kind of plague or pestilence. We know that their contagiousness is immensely aggravated in filthy localities, and unventilated apartments; that their ravages are slight among well-regulated people, and in clean, salubrious localities; that the most efficacious sanitary measures adopted to guard against them, consist in the removal of all deposits of filth, all stagnant waters, and in disinfecting the air of all miasms generated by decaying animal and vegetable matter. This is about the only antidote to the cholera in which medical practitioners are as yet agreed. Not to dwell at length on this branch of the subject, the comparative salubrity of coun-

try and city in summer, when the high temperature evolves in greater abundance and energy the noxious gases which in other circumstances lie dormant in the accumulated filth of cities, proves conclusivelely that a polluted atmosphere is a prolific cause of disease and death. When we see the pale and sickly children of the metropolis at once made hale, ruddy, and buoyant, by passing a few weeks in the country, the necessity of a pure unadulterated atmosphere to health and vigour is put beyond all dispute.

The next question that presents itself is, whether air is vitiated, or deprived of its salubrious properties, by being repeatedly respired. Here the evidence is more palpable, although less regarded, than in the cases of malaria and infection to which we have already alluded. It is only necessary to enter a room unventilated, which has been for any time occupied by a number of persons, or a dormitory before the air has been changed in the morning, to have the evidence of our senses that the atmosphere is deadened, and unfit for respiration. No possible cause for this can be assigned, but that it has been breathed over till its vivifying properties have been exhausted. And here our senses simply corroborate the results of the most rigid scientific analysis.

It is not our intention to go into any scientific disquisition on this subject, further than to present some of those first rudiments which are requisite to any just practical view of the subject.

Common air is well known to be a compound gas, made up one-fifth of oxygen and four-fifths of nitrogen. Of these, so far as is yet known, nitrogen possesses no decidedly active qualities, and serves principally as a diluent of the oxygen, which is the great vitalizing element taken into the lungs in respiration. This is a most powerful agent. If it be inspired in larger or smaller proportions than it has in common air, it produces derangement of the animal functions. If there be a lack of it, the result is languor, lassitude, and nervous irritability, such as are induced by the atmosphere of a crowded room. If there be an excess of it, it stimulates the pulse, the lungs, the brain, all the animal functions, to a preternatural activity. An illustration of this is found in the strange and

hazardous exhilaration caused by inhaling nitrous oxide gas, which contains one proportion more of oxygen than the atmosphere. This then is shown to be the great sustainer of life, since, in the proportion in which it is found in the atmosphere, it keeps the vital functions in equable and healthful operation; while by any excess of it they are over-driven and over-worked; in the lack of it, they languish; and in the utter absence of it, they die.

The manner in which the oxygen of the air vitalizes the system is, by combining with the carbon of the blood, which it meets on entering the lungs. This carbon it thus detaches, and, by combination with it, forms a new gas, which is expired by the lungs in place of the oxygen they inhaled. The gas thus formed and thrown out is carbonic acid gas, one of the most poisonous and deadly in nature. It is precisely the same which is produced by burning charcoal, the carbon of which combines with the oxygen of the air, in order to its combustion. It is the same which is often found in long closed wells. Its deadly character, in these cases, all understand. It will instantly extinguish a lighted lamp, and with equal certainty, if not quite as quickly, the lamp of life. An easy experiment to test what we have said is, to invert a glass jar in a pail of water, taking care that the jar is itself filled, and through a curved tube, to breathe into the jar, thus expelling the water by the air ejected from the lungs; then closing the mouth of the jar, let it be turned up. If a lighted candle be at once let down into it, it will go out. We have seen popular assemblies convinced by this simple experiment, as to the poisonous state of the air exhaled from the lungs, when nothing less than such ocular demonstration appeared to impress them. If it be objected, that people after all live in such air, and that this fact is a refutation of such ideas, we answer, that in all such cases, the carbonic acid gas is diluted, and so mitigated in its effects, by the common air into which it is thrown. This does not prove that it has not a deadly tendency and influence, although it be not sufficiently concentrated to kill outright. That it has not been fatal in many instances, has been due rather to crevices, and key-holes, and broken panes of glass, letting in some stray currents of fresh air, than to any intelligent provision

to ward off its baneful effects. Beside the carbonic acid gas exhaled from the lungs, a watery vapour is also ejected by them, which readily displays itself when we breathe out of doors in a dry cold morning, or as it is condensed in wind instruments, or on the windows of a crowded room. Whatever may be the cause of this aqueous exhalation, the fact that it is made, proves that it is important to the health of the lungs, that they encounter no obstruction which prevents their relieving themselves of it. For this purpose, it is requisite that the atmosphere we breathe should have its natural, normal dryness. If it be damp, it carries as much moisture to the lungs as it should remove from them. This accounts for the oppression which we ordinarily suffer from undue dampness in the air. The like oppression is experienced when air from the frequent respiration of it becomes unduly saturated with moisture. From these causes combined, air that has been repeatedly breathed over, becomes in the highest degree deleterious to health.

In regard to the amount of air requisite for the healthy working of the human functions, we quote the following from Mr. Griscom:

"The amount of air required by a human being, varies according to circumstances; the mature and robust requiring more than the weak, infant, or aged—the male more than the female. Also, under all circumstances, more is used during the day than at night—in health than in sickness—in a high temperature than a low—during muscular exercise than at rest —after a meal than when hungry—when the attention of the person experimented upon is drawn to the function of respiration, than when he is unconscious of its performance. These modifying circumstances, lately discovered by Prout, Edwards, and others, were, altogether or in part, overlooked by Black, Priestley, Lavoisier, Davy, and the earlier experimentalists, on this important point; and hence the discrepancy in their calculations, and the difficulty of coming to correct results at the present day. The point of greatest practical utility is not, however, disputed: when air contains above one-half per cent. of carbonic acid, it may not be immediately, or rather palpably, injurious to the organism, but it is eventually so; while,

on the other hand, if it contains above seven or eight per cent., it will prove suddenly fatal. According to some, three or four feet of pure air per minute is sufficient for a proper aeration of the blood. Others, though they admit that this quantity might possibly be endured for a considerable time, without any well-defined deterioration of constitution, contend that this circumstance is no proof of its sufficiency, and advise at least ten cubic feet per minute for each individual. It was observed in the British House of Commons, that any less than ten feet was soon noticeable on the health of the members; and they even expressed feelings of discomfort, in a high temperature, with any less than forty or fifty. According to the most reliable experiments and calculations, it is found that ten cubic feet is a fair standard to test the sufficiency of an atmosphere inhaled; as no smaller quantity is capable of removing all doubts as to the latent and eventual evils of a deficiency.

"Let us suppose the case of a school-room, containing 10,000 cubic feet ($50 \times 20 \times 10$) of perfectly pure air (if such there be,) with two hundred pupils. To each of them will be allowed ten cubic feet of air per minute. To avoid every chance of exaggeration, and to adapt the calculation to age and size, no deduction will be made for the pupils themselves, or for their seats, desks, furniture, books, &c., all of which substances do displace an equal bulk of air, and by so much reduce the quantity actually in the room.

"According to these premises, there would be fifty feet for each pupil; and supposing that there existed no communication with the external air (which would generally be the case if the doors and windows were closely shut), the air of the room would be rendered unfit for respiration by the carbonic acid alone, without including the other exhalations, *in just five minutes.* Or in other words, the pupils would, at the end of five minutes, begin to inhale, again and again, the excrementitious matter from their own and one another's bodies. Again, suppose, with Liebig, that ten ounces of solid carbon would be excreted from each of their bodies in twenty-four hours—at the end of one hour, eighty-four ounces, or seven pounds troy, of this poison, would be held in solution in the air of the room, and be constantly going the round of the circulation, sowing

the seeds of death. These seven pounds of carbon would, in an hour, form one hundred and seventy-six cubic feet of carbonic acid, which implies the removal of one hundred and eighty feet of oxygen. And as the oxygen originally amounted to (as 80 : 20 : : 10,000 : 2500) twenty-five hundred cubic feet, this gas would (supposing the circumstances favourable for its combination with carbon) be entirely exhausted in fourteen or fifteen hours. But as the accumulation of carbon in the atmosphere of the room, impedes the excretion of more from the beginning, and as this substance is as fatal to life when retained as when inhaled, many of the pupils would not be living, a long time before the entire removal of the oxygen.

"It may be objected that cases such as the above seldom occur. Admitted; but this depends upon the fact, that there are generally broken panes,* keyholes, or crevices of some kind, through which there is an ingress for the fresh, and an exit for the impure air; and it is true, that when there is a certain amount of ventilation, there is a limit to the concentration of carbonic acid. This circumstance, however, instead of divesting impure air of its terrors, in reality enhances them, as the inmates are thus lulled into a false security, whose deceptiveness is only discovered, if it ever is, when the seeds of disease which have thus been sown, germinate and ripen into fatal maturity." pp. 66–68.

In order to illustrate principles, especially to the conviction of the incredulous and indifferent, it is often necessary to take strong and rare examples. In proof of the injurious and destructive effects of breathing over the air of an apartment, which allows of no renovation of it by fresh supplies from without, it is barely necessary to refer to the horrible mortality which prevails in slave ships, and which sweeps away a large proportion of the wretched creatures who are crowded into the unventilated holds of vessels, in the prosecution of this infamous traffic. There are few who have not heard of "the memorable tragedy of the Black Hole of Calcutta, into which were thrust a garrison of one hundred and forty-six persons, one hundred

* How many lives have broken panes been the means of saving, as well as destroying!

and twenty-three of whom perished miserably in a few hours, being suffocated by the confined air."

The following passage, which we extract, displays not only the deadly character of the gas exhaled in respiration, but a degree of ignorance on the subject at the present time, in enlightened nations, which must be dispelled, before we can expect entire immunity from similar horrors:

"The steamer Londonderry, Captain Johnston, left Sligo, at four o'clock on Friday evening, December 22, 1848, for Liverpool, with about one hundred and ninety steerage passengers—emigrants—on their way, via Liverpool, to America, and two or three cabin passengers. As she proceeded on her voyage, the weather became exceedingly foul, and after midnight, the wind rose to a perfect gale. About one o'clock that night, or rather Sunday morning, it was deemed expedient to put the steerage passengers below, and the order was executed, not, we understand, without some resistance on the part of many of them.

"Most of our readers are probably acquainted with the dimensions of a steerage cabin of an ordinary steamer—a compartment rarely more than eighteen feet long, by ten or twelve in width, and in height about seven feet. Into this space, ventilated only by one opening, the companion, one hundred and fifty human beings, as we have been informed, were packed together. The steerage being thus occupied, it was next, as we alleged, feared lest the water should get admission through the companion, and this—the only vent by which air could be admitted to the sufferers below—was closed, and a tarpaulin nailed over it, thus hermetically sealing the aperture, and preventing the possibility of any renewal of the exhausted atmosphere.

"The steamer went on her way, gallantly braving the winds and waves, unconscious of the awful work which death was meanwhile doing within her. In the darkness and heat and loathsomeness of their airless prison, its wretched inmates shrieked for aid; and there were none to hear their cries amid the boisterousness of the storm, or if they were heard, none sagacious enough to interpret the dreadful meaning they meant to convey. At length, one man—the last, it is said, who had

been put down, contrived to effect an opening through the tarpaulin of the companion, and pushing himself out, communicated to the mate that the people in the steerage were dying for the want of air. The mate instantly became alarmed, and obtaining a lantern, went down to render assistance. Such, however, was the foul state of the air in the cabin, that the light was immediately extinguished. A second was obtained, and it too was extinguished.

"At length the tarpaulin was completely removed, and a free access of air admitted. When the crew went below, they were appalled by the discovery that the floor was covered by dead bodies to the depth of some feet. Men, women, and children were huddled together, blackened with suffocation, distorted by convulsion, bruised and bleeding from the desperate struggle for existence, which preceded the moment when exhausted nature resigned the strife. After some time, the living were separated from the dead, and it was then found that the latter amounted to nearly one half of the entire number. Seventy-two dead bodies of men, women, and children, lay piled indiscriminately over each other, four deep, all presenting the ghastly appearance of persons who had died in the agonies of suffocation. Very many of them were covered with blood, which had gushed from the mouth and nose, or had flowed from wounds inflicted by the tramping of nail-studded brogans, and by the frantic violence of those who struggled for escape. It was evident that, in the struggle, the poor creatures had torn the clothes off each other's backs, and even the flesh from each other's limbs. Nearly all of the steerage passengers were poor farmers, from the neighbourhood of Sligo and Ballina, with their families, and many of the dead were naked from poverty.

"An inquest was held on one of the bodies, and the jury returned the following verdict:

"'We find that death was caused by suffocation, in consequence of the gross negligence and total want of the usual and necessary caution on the part of the captain, Alexander Johnston, Richard Hughes, first mate, and Ninian Crawford, second mate; and we therefore find them guilty of manslaughter; and we further consider it our duty to express, in the strongest terms, our abhorrence of the inhuman conduct of

the remainder of the seamen on board on the melancholy occasion, and the jury beg to call the attention of proprietors of steamboats to the urgent necessity of introducing some more effectual mode of ventilation in the steerage, and also affording better accommodations to the poorer class of passengers.'" pp. 169–171.

While this illustrates both the deadly quality of the gases thrown out in respiration, and the dangerous ignorance which prevails in relation to the subject, it is of course seldom that the poison exists in so concentrated a form as to be immediately fatal. If such occurrences were common, they would be their own cure. Yet it is certain that such a poison cannot be constantly inhaled in smaller than fatal proportions, any more than arsenic can be taken in less than fatal doses, without most deleterious consequences. And there is often a much nearer approach to the point of suffocation in the deteriorated air of a crowded room, than is commonly supposed. An eminent chemist of Scotland, took away a bottle of the air in a church when it had been filled with a crowded assembly during a religious service of the usual length. He found that a fly immersed in it could scarcely live. The Hon. Ira Mayhew, superintendent of public instruction in the State of Michigan, relates, that an evening meeting held in a school-house in that State was broken up before the regular conclusion of the services, because, as the people said, "we all began to feel sick, and the lights went almost out." He adds, they little suspected that the light of life was as nearly extinct as that of the candles.

The injurious effect of breathing air vitiated by carbonic acid gas, in proportions not immediately fatal, is gradually to impair the vital functions, corrupt the blood, and ultimately to induce disease, either chronic or acute, according to the predisposition of the patient. Our author shows by a large induction of well authenticated facts, that it is a powerful cause of some of the direst distempers to which our race is subject. As it acts immediately on the lungs and blood, it must of course tend strongly to generate all diseases connected with the respiratory, circulative, and digestive functions. And what diseases are not connected with them? We should be

glad, if we had space, to present the well concatenated array of facts and arguments by which a large proportion of the consumption, scrofula, and indigestion which afflict men, are traced to this source in this treatise. This indeed is not always, perhaps not generally, the only cause of these and other diseases to which it contributes. But, beyond all doubt, it accelerates and aggravates the action of other causes.

If these views are not wholly erroneous, they open up a wide sphere for sanatory reform in the construction, or at least in the prevalent arrangements for supplying pure air to churches, halls, lecture-rooms, school-houses, manufactories, ships, steamboats, barracks, railway cars, omnibuses, sick-rooms, hospitals, nurseries, dormitories, the cellars, shanties and garrets, which are so often the only abodes of the poor, to say nothing of ordinary dwellings. And we have no doubt that the subject is destined to command the attention of philanthropists, artizans, and men of science, until the evil in question is greatly abated, if not wholly removed: and the awkward, and often impracticable, expedients for ventilation, now in use, give place to those which are so cheap, tasteful, and effective, as to ensure general acceptance and adoption.

We cannot forbear to quote from our author a passage showing the disastrous effects of the prevailing practice of muffling, not to say smothering, infants.

"In a hospital in Dublin, between the years 1781 and 1785, no less than 2,944 children out of 7,650 died within a fortnight after their birth. This was more than one in three. Dr. Clark, the physician, suspecting the cause to be a want of air, contrived to introduce a full supply of this important element, by means of pipes, six inches in diameter, into all the apartments. The consequence was, that during the three succeeding years only 165 out of 4,243 children died within the first two weeks, or less than one in twenty-five. What a surprising difference! Is there a doubt that of the first number of deaths we have mentioned, about 2,650 died for want of pure air?"

He argues that these facts warrant the conclusion that some 50,000 children under five years of age die annually in the United States, in consequence of being deprived of the pure, unadulterated air of heaven!

The following is a specimen of a large number of cases cited in the book, mostly gathered from the testimony of eminent English physicians to the Commissioners for inquiring into the state of large towns and populous districts in England.

"Many instances are on record where the progress of an epidemic has been suddenly stopped by ventilation. 'When I visited Glasgow,' says Dr. Arnott, 'with Mr. Chadwick, there was described to us one vast lodging house, in connection with a manufactory there, in which formerly fever constantly prevailed, but where, by making an opening from the top of each room through a channel of communication to an air-pump, common to all the channels, the disease had disappeared altogether. The supply of pure air obtained by that mode of ventilation, was sufficient to dilute the cause of the disease, so that it became powerless.' " pp. 81, 2.

The physical evils, however, vast and deplorable as they are, which result from breathing corrupt air, are of small moment in comparison with the moral and mental degeneracy induced by it. Such are the mysterious reciprocal influence and sympathy of mind and body, that all influences which permanently depress the one, almost necessarily injure both. This is especially true of air vitiated by repeated respiration. By deteriorating the blood, it of course assails the brain, which is supposed to receive about one-fifth of the blood of the whole body, and is therefore dependent upon the healthy condition of that blood for its own healthy action. It of course tends to disturb and vitiate those mental operations which, in their turn, are mysteriously connected with and dependent upon the brain. Indeed the first ill effects of vitiated air, of which we are ordinarily sensible are, a certain languor, laziness, and insuperable inertness of our mental faculties. Of this our readers have all had some experience in schools, churches, court-rooms, and in close, small, unventilated studies, which shows conclusively that the brain suffers at once from inspiring the poison of foul air. If then such air be constantly inhaled through life, must it not tend to debase the moral and intellectual man? Moreover, if the mind requires good air in order to any healthy vigour and activity, it needs it most when it is most severely tasked with labour. In hours of study, thought and medita

tion the brain needs a supply of blood most perfectly aerated and decarbonized. We are prepared then to see at least presumptive evidence of the justice of the author's positions, when he tells us that vitiated air often gives birth to, or stimulates the growth of the following hideous progeny. 1. Inaptitude for study and therefore ignorance. 2. A perversion of the judgment. 3. Intemperance in the use of intoxicating drinks. 4. It encourages vice. 5. Also pusillanimity and cowardice. 6. It produces deformity, imbecility and idiocy. We think that all careful observers must have detected some of these results, and that none will remain sceptical after pondering the facts and reasonings adduced by Mr. Griscom. No competent inspector of schools will deny that the following representation is as just and important as it is graphic. pp. 68, 9.

"Among the effects produced by remaining in an impure atmosphere, there is an almost immediate one to which the attention of teachers, and all concerned in the care of schools, should be constantly drawn; it is that condition of listlessness, languor, and irritability, so often observed in both pupils and teachers. Irritability of the nervous system, as well as dullness of the intellect, is unquestionably the direct result of a want of pure air. The vital energies of the pupil are more or less prostrated by it—he becomes restless and indisposed to attend to his books and rules—his mind wanders from his studies—and he unavoidably seeks relief for the natural appetite for air, in disorderly actions which call for reprimand from his teacher, who, from the same cause, is perhaps in the same irritable and unhealthy condition of mind and body, which must also find a vent somehow and upon something. Thus irritability grows to irritation, until it becomes a question of serious import, how far, as a corrective, or rather, preventive, of this evil, pure air would serve in substitution for the ferule, and whether the natural stimulation of oxygen would not be more easy of application and more sure of effect, than the artificial sedative of the strap.

"It has fallen to the lot of the writer to see many instances of the injurious influence of the foul air of school-rooms, both private and public, on the health of pupils, even to fatal terminations. He has seen children grow pale and thin, and gradu-

ally droop and sicken, without any cause visible to the parents, who, in their grief, have attributed all to the dispensation of an inscrutable Providence, without a thought of the true source of the calamity, until it has been (alas, too late!) pointed out to them. It were easy to cite, from actual experience, cases of sickness and death of pupils, the commencements of which were undoubtedly laid in the places, which, of all others, should be least obnoxious to the charge; the most unhappy feature of which is, that the teachers themselves are, in too many instances, ignorant of the true merits of pure air, and unwilling to admit the humiliating fact, so easily demonstrated, that the atmosphere of their school-rooms is offensive and dangerous."

There are few clergymen who will not appreciate the following extract:

"The pulpit orator, too, finds that his midnight lucubrations, manufactured while he is cooped up within the precincts of a study which is small, ill-ventilated, and hampered with books and manuscripts, will often fail to charm his audience, especially when they are nodding under the influence of the densely-carbonized atmosphere of an ill-ventilated church.

"An anecdote very illustrative of this, is related of an old Scottish pulpit orator, of a standing above mediocrity for eminence and ability, who was so mortified and annoyed at the unaccountable apathy, inattention, and drowsiness of his hearers, that he deemed it expedient to preach a series of sermons on "*The sin and shame o' sleepin' in kirkes.*" This resolution was carried out with an extraordinary fervour and force of argument, but without any appreciable effect. His lions and angels neither roused the fears, nor excited the admiration of his seemingly lukewarm flock, and the flowers of his eloquence only "lost their sweetness on the [poisoned] air." There one sat yawning with his eyes half-closed, his face flushed, head aching, and languor and mental inactivity evident on his countenance, which also indicated a partial unconsciousness of his own existence. Here another, in the corner, with his forehead lazily resting on the back of the pew before him, enjoying a rather comfortable nap, interrupted though it was by his having occasionally to raise his head, to show the pastor and those around him, that he was not absolutely sleeping.

"At last, a thought fortunately crossed the preacher's mind, that a mouthful or two of fresh air might possibly have some beneficial effect, in stimulating the mental appetite, and keeping up attention. The sexton was accordingly ordered to throw the windows partially open during the hours of service. The experiment was attended with complete success, and tended greatly to improve the understanding between the pastor and his flock." pp. 149–50.

If by this time our readers are convinced that air repeatedly respired is unfit for further respiration; that in all cases fresh air ought to be introduced in its place by some effective process of ventilation; and that the consequences of neglecting such ventilation are deplorable and alarming, our main object will have been accomplished. If they are sufficiently aroused to undertake to effect it, where it is needed, in the various spheres in which they move, they will doubtless obtain better information from other sources, as to the best means of doing it, than we have room to give, if we had the requisite knowledge. For this purpose we can safely refer them to the treatise under review, taking due care to protest, however, that as it is beyond our province to recommend this or that man's patents, so we think our author would have shown his wisdom, had he used a little more caution in one or more instances of this sort. We are sorry that a book of so much real merit and adaptation to popular wants, should weaken its own influence and circumscribe its own usefulness, by affording even a pretext for the suspicion, that it was any part of the writer's object to puff any man's wares. We will, however, offer one or two brief suggestions relative to the general principles bearing upon the subject.

All ventilation is accomplished by means of currents of fresh air passing through the apartments to be purified, which sweep out, and take the place of, the foul air. In factories, vessels, and other structures, in which steam or any powerful motor is employed to propel machinery, this motor may be attached to an apparatus for exciting currents of air, which shall produce adequate ventilation. In rooms which, like most, admit of no such fixtures, during the warm season, the windows and doors, unless they are very deficient, may usually be opened

with safety so as to replenish the atmosphere by fresh supplies from without. The great difficulty is during the cold season, when the external air is too cold to be admitted with safety unless previously warmed. It is sure that an open grate or fire-place, with a good draught, will not draw off the foul air, and so make a vacuum, which the fresh air will rush in to fill, with sufficient rapidity to keep the atmosphere in a good degree salubrious, in a room occupied by but few persons, as in an ordinary dwelling. Of old, the great fire-place did good service of this sort in school-rooms. It will not, however, adequately warm the tender youth of this more effeminate age. Moreover, on grounds of economy and convenience, the close stove, whose greatest recommendation is to be *air-tight*, has generally supplanted all other modes of warming, in kitchens, parlours, school-rooms, and churches. Of this, it is safe to say, that it allows no adequate ventilation for public, and rarely for private rooms. Every one knows the difference between the atmosphere produced by it, and that produced by an open fire or a hot-air furnace. Moreover, no open fire-place is, of itself, at all sufficient for cleansing out the impurities of the air in a crowded room. The only means yet discovered, of procuring a bountiful supply of salubrious air, of the right temperature, is to warm the room by a furnace or stove which brings in heated air from without. With this should be united some effective apparatus for withdrawing the foul air from the building. It is of little use for this purpose, merely to have an opening into the attic. That merely enlarges slightly the volume of air to be respired in the room, and so makes only a slight and momentary improvement of its quality. Nor is it of any avail merely to cool the air by letting the fire go down. Cold air (contrary to the common idea) is just as liable to be foul, as if it were hot. There should be a free entrance of warmed fresh air in one part of the room, with ejecting ventiducts, so disposed in other parts, that this fresh air, before reaching them to make its exit, will sweep through the apartment. Thus, if the hot-air stove or furnace register be at one end, or side, or corner, the ejecting flue should be at the opposite end, side, or corner. If one of these be at the centre, the other should be at the sides or corners. The ejecting ducts

should start from the floor, and pass out above the apex of the roof. They should be controlled by registers at the top and bottom of the room, to be used as circumstances require. They may be made of wood, with an ejecting ventilator at their top, and then they will be sure to act efficiently when the wind blows. But they will be more reliable, in a still atmosphere, if they are made of brick, like large chimney flues, and have the pipe of the stove or furnace carried up through them, thus, by means of heat, creating a positive upward current, under all circumstances. Without these arrangements for the exit of the foul air, the mere process of warming, by the introduction of heated air from without, is a vast improvement upon close stoves. With these, or substantially similar arrangements, we believe that the atmosphere of our public rooms would be purged of its noxious ingredients, and become balmy and salubrious. We commend the subject to our readers, as one having not only a physical, but a high intellectual, moral, and even religious importance.

SHORT NOTICES.

Robert and Harold; or the Young Marooners on the Florida Coast. By F. R. Goulding. Philadelphia: William S. Martien. 1852. 16mo. pp. 422.

There is in this little volume for the young, a singular blending of fact with fiction, of curious and useful information with exciting adventure; such as almost tempts us to set it apart as a new species of juvenile literature. The adventures of the young Marooners are nearly as wild and exciting as Robinson Crusoe; and yet we understand the author to say, they are substantially true. The incidents of the story are adroitly arranged to bring into view a great variety of curious information, much of which is as useful as it is novel and stirring. Without, for example, once suspecting any such utilitarian or unromantic design, the young reader is led by the interest of the story, to master the best methods of treating an animal struck with lightning, or securing the accidental wound of an artery, and other such like things; to say nothing of the know-

ledge of geographical localities, and the curious habits and instincts of animals. By the way, the story of the "devil-fish," taking up the anchor of a little boat, and rushing out to sea with the youthful crew on board, their efforts to disengage the monster, and what befel them on their extraordinary cruise, however thrilling, well told, and even morally impressive the marvellous story may be, is yet a sore trial to our faith in the actual truth of at least that portion of the book. Altogether, we do not hesitate to say that it is a remarkable little book; and will undoubtedly become a great favourite with the young, as it well deserves the confidence and favour of parents.

Select British Eloquence: embracing the best Speeches entire, of the most eminent Orators of Great Britain for the last two centuries; with sketches of their Lives, an estimate of their Genius, and notes critical and explanatory. By Chauncey A. Goodrich, D.D., Professor in Yale College. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 8vo. pp. 947.

The work thus fully described by its title, forms the most elaborate contribution to the history of British eloquence, which has issued from the American press. It is unquestionably true, that "he who would teach eloquence, must do it chiefly by examples." This sentiment is the key to the book. It is a study of examples; the best that our language affords. The original matter of the author, for the most part, is judicious and valuable. The history of a country is so identified with the history of its great men, and especially of its great statesmen, that in the sketches of their lives, besides the primary object of the author—to illustrate the principles of eloquence—he has really given a continuous, though of course slender, history of England, and, to some extent also, of France and the Continent, during the stirring period of modern history which is covered by the volume. The sketches of the lives of the great orators, whose eloquence constitutes the study of the volume, are, in our judgment, unequal in execution. The copiousness of the materials, and the narrow limits to which the author was restricted, have in some cases produced a remarkable effect, in the way of impression. The introductions to the several speeches, reciting the occasion of their delivery, explaining the bearing of their arguments upon the facts, and presenting the points at issue in the debate, are the most important feature of the work. What the author calls "an analysis," as given in the side-notes, and which he says was intended to show the divisions and sub-divisions of the thought, with a view of making apparent the connection and bearings of the several parts, strikes us as far the most imperfectly executed portion of his plan. The side-notes are not, in

any proper sense of the word, an analysis at all. They are little else than marginal indexes to the subject matter of the several paragraphs. What the work most needs, in our judgment, is a good, brief, but complete analysis, forming a part of the author's introduction to each speech, showing clearly the plan of the speech as it lay in the mind of the speaker, disclosing incidentally, if not formally, the reasons of the plan adopted, and the grounds of its force, as springing out of its subject matter, or its relation to the parties addressed, together with the connection of the several parts, and then the bearing of the whole upon the main conclusion—in a word, a simple but comprehensive exposé of the rhetorical mechanism of each speech, regarded as a work of art. This, we repeat, strikes us as the great desideratum of the volume. The historical and illustrative matter is comparatively full, but the artistic criticism is, to say the least, very disproportioned; if, indeed, it may not be said to be entirely wanting.

Baconianism and the Bible. An Address delivered before the Eumenean and Philanthropic Societies of Davidson College, N. C. By the Rev. B. M. Palmer, of Columbia, S. C. Columbia, S. C.: A. S. Johnston. 1852.

The perusal of this address has impressed us strongly with the value of such occasions, as a means of usefulness. The discourse of Mr. Palmer strikes us as a model of its kind. It is as keen and polished in its rhetoric, as it is timely and effective in argument.

The Scots Worthies: Containing a brief historical account of the most eminent noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, and others, who testified or suffered for the cause of Reformation in Scotland, from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the year 1688. By John Howie, of Lochgoin. Illustrated. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1853.

The Scots Worthies has been a household classic for three-quarters of a century. Written by a moorland farmer, it has done an incalculable service, in connection with its great predecessor, and probably its model—Fox's Book of Martyrs—in the education of the English race, in the doctrines of religious and civil liberty, and in training those heroes and martyrs of truth and freedom, to whom, under God, the world is indebted for countless and untold blessings.

Daily Commentary. A Practical Exposition of Select Portions of Scripture, for every Morning and Evening throughout the year. Being a Companion to "Family Worship." By one hundred and eighty Clergymen of Scotland. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1853. 8vo. pp. 968.

This volume, as its title imports, is complementary to the large and useful work, entitled "Family Worship," noticed in

a late issue of our Journal. We welcome with peculiar pleasure anything which tends to popularize the expository reading of the word of God, in connection with the daily devotional exercises of our numerous Christian families:—the more especially as the expository treatment of the Scriptures has so notoriously yielded its former place in the pulpit, to the topical and hortatory method now almost universally in use. We venture to suggest to such Christian families, as are visited by our Journal, to take up the Daily Commentary on trial, or if the domestic arrangements of the family render it more convenient, for the morning or the evening worship alone, with a view of determining how far it would contribute to the interest and impression of the occasion. The advantages peculiar to the Daily Commentary for this purpose, are: 1. that the several portions of Scripture are selected with special reference to their practical and devotional uses. 2. The expositions are brief and to the point, resembling in this respect, the well known Exercises of Jay; while yet they are properly expository, which Jay is not:—and 3. The great number and variety of the contributors, can hardly fail to keep up a degree of freshness and variety in their contributions.

Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane, of Airthrey, and of his Brother, James Alexander Haldane. By Alexander Haldane, Esq., of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1852. 8vo. 604.

We are happy to announce an American Edition of this Memoir, of two men so full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and so honoured of God as instruments in the great revival of the spirit and power of evangelical religion, both in England, and on the continent. As the work in the foreign edition, was reviewed *in extenso* in our last No., we have only to express our hope, that as it is now accessible to American Christians in the reprint before us, it may be the means of transfusing a large measure of the lofty faith, and heroic zeal of these remarkable men, into the ministers and churches of our land.

Footsteps of our Forefathers: What they suffered, and what they sought. Describing Localities, and portraying Personages and Events in the struggles for Religious Liberty. By James G. Miall. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1852. pp. 352. 12mo.

We do not think this cumbrous title page is happy or descriptive. The book is really a historical argument against religious and civil intolerance; and an essay towards a juster appreciation of the value of that civil and religious freedom, which has cost the world so much blood and treasure. The author calls to his aid the associations and impulses of the

heart; under the conviction, which is doubtless well founded, that the instincts and feelings of men are much more likely to be right than their logical judgments; and that it is easier, as well as more effectual, to draw over the former to the side of truth, than to carry the latter by dint of argument. The details of the volume seem to be authentic, as they are certainly curious and minute; and the portraits and panoramas of which it is made up, are generally well drawn. The author displays, also, a good degree of analytic and descriptive power, in seizing upon the ultimate principles on which the various phases of the great conflict for human freedom have turned; and dragging them into the light of those truer intuitions, on which he relies for the right settlement of the questions in dispute.

The Three Great Temptations of Young Men: With several Lectures addressed to Business and Professional Men. By Samuel W. Fisher. Cincinnati: Moore & Anderson, Publishers, 1852.

A searching and thorough *exposé* of the seductions and perils of the wine-cup, the card-table, and the play-house: together with a series of faithful, earnest and weighty suggestions to men absorbed in the various secular pursuits of life.

Daily Readings. Passages of Scripture, selected for Social Reading, with Applications. By Caroline Fry. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

In addition to the selections from the Scriptures, there is appended to each, a brief train of reflections or thoughts, such as would be likely to arise in a cultivated and devotional mind. They are characterized chiefly by their easy simplicity and freshness. There is no attempt at elaboration, and scarcely any at formal exposition of the passage. There is less of the naïveté and antithetic point so inimitably characteristic of Jay; but in lieu of it we have, on each occasion, a complete passage of the word of God, instead of a single text, or phrase, or word.

The Faded Hope. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1853. pp. 264. 12mo.

The fine poetic spirit of Mrs. Sigourney which effloresces in the very title of this touching memorial of a mother to her gifted son, breathes its fragrance through every paragraph of the sad record of this brief but beautiful biography.

Elegy Written in a Country Church Yard, and other Poems. By Thomas Gray. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1853. pp. 106. 8vo.

One seldom sees anything more beautiful or effective, than the fine wood engravings, with one of which, each separate stanza of this well known lyric is adorned. The typography is faultless, and the paper in keeping.

The Practical Man, an Address delivered before the Diagnothian and Gœthean Societies of Marshall College, at the annual commencement, September 7, 1852. By Hon. Washington McCartney. Philadelphia: Crissy and Markley, Library street. 1852.

This fugitive address is deeply marked by that sterling practical wisdom, and liberal scholarship, for which the author is held in high esteem by all who know him.

1. *A Forest Flower.* By the Rev. James Drummond, Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland, Madras. pp. 74.
2. *Grandmother's Parable*, or the Young Pilgrims. pp. 71.
3. *The Waterloo Soldier*, or the Early Life and Closing Days of Farquhar Mackay. By Collin A. Mackenzie, with an Introduction by W. M. Hetherington, LL.D. 16 mo. pp. 144.
4. *The Youth's Gleaner*, or Ripe Fruits of early Piety Gathered and Garnered, for the Presbyterian Board of Publication. pp. 250.
5. *My Own Hymn Book.* Illustrated with fourteen engravings. pp. 71.
6. *Evidences for Heaven.* Written in the year 1650. By Mrs. Thomasen Head, for the benefit of her Children. pp. 101.
7. *The Bible the Book of the Lord*, or the Divine Authority of the Sacred Scriptures. Addressed especially to the Young. pp. 48.
8. *Patience.* By James W. Alexander, D.D. pp. 40.
9. *A Manual on the Christian Sabbath.* By John Holmes Agnew. With an Introductory Essay by the Rev. S. Miller, D.D. pp. 198.

We announce for the information of our readers the foregoing list of small books, all of them designed especially for the young, except the last two, added since our last notices, to the growing catalogue of the Presbyterian Board of Publication.

"A Forest Flower" is a simple, touching memorial of a boy, refined and sublimated in the furnace of affliction, and who died in his fourteenth year.

"Grandmother's Parable" is a beautiful little allegory, of the Bunyan school.

"The Waterloo Soldier" is a true biography, interesting and instructive as an illustration of the power of grace in first rescuing the subject of it, from the most unpromising circumstances; and then lifting him into a sphere of usefulness, still farther illustrating and honouring the same grace, by results due to the power of simple goodness under the blessing of the Holy Spirit. We could wish this unpretending volume were deposited in every Christian family in the land, to teach us all, and especially the poor among God's people, what a work the most lowly piety may achieve, and how God delights to honour and reward those who are faithful in their efforts to glorify him.

"The Youth's Gleaner" is a collection chiefly of striking biographical notices of persons from various walks in life, remarkable for early piety.

The remaining books of the list, sufficiently explain themselves by their titles; and need no endorsement from us.

The Book of Poetry; Illustrated with engravings on wood, from original designs. By Darley, Doepler, Oertel, and Schuessele. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 8vo. pp. 256.

This beautiful volume contains a very varied selection from the minor poems contributed to our later Christian literature, by the most gifted of our sons of song. The illustrations are very fine, and some of them extremely beautiful. Those who are seeking gift-books that will be useful as well as acceptable, will be glad to know of its existence.

The Sinner's Progress; or, the Life and Death of Mr. Badman; also, Review of Anti-Christ. By John Bunyan. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. pp. 198 and 112.

Help to Zion's Travellers: being an attempt to remove various stumbling blocks out of the way, relating to doctrinal, experimental, and practical religion. Rev. Robert Hall, of Ainsby. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 118 Arch street. pp. 247.

These are standard works among our Baptist brethren. The author of the latter is not so generally known among other denominations as he perhaps ought to be. He has been eclipsed in the brightness of his celebrated son, who inherited his name. The work, we hope, will prove specially useful in counteracting some doctrinal tendencies to which a portion of the Baptist churches in this country are said to be more or less exposed.

A Defence of Restricted Communion. Revised and enlarged. By Rev. S. Remington, A. M., author of "Reasons for becoming a Baptist." Twenty-second thousand. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. pp. 72.

The question here discussed is included in very narrow limits. If baptism is an indispensable condition of church communion, and if immersion is essential to baptism, then the Baptists are right. If either of the above principles is unscriptural, they are wrong. Neither of the above principles, however, is recognized in our standards. The conditions for church communion laid down in the Westminster symbols, are knowledge, faith, and holy living. The Church has no right to debar from her fellowship those who possess these qualifications. If anything is in its own nature preposterous, it is that men should refuse to receive those whom Christ has received. It is a clear scriptural principle, often violated indeed by particular denominations, but sanctioned by the general voice of the people of God, that nothing is necessary, or can be rightfully demanded as a condition of church fellowship, which is

not necessary to salvation. If, therefore, baptism be not necessary to salvation, it is not indispensable to communion.

It is a great misfortune when any denomination is distinguished from their fellow Christians by some outward peculiarity. To that peculiarity they owe their name, and their existence. It becomes therefore their life. It gives them their distinctive character, and controls their action. Hence it cannot fail to become of undue importance. The Baptists think more, write more, preach more about the mode of baptism, than all the rest of Christendom together. Their existence depends on the meaning of a word. If baptize means to *wash*, as well as to *immerse*, they are effectually submerged. They have, therefore, to devote a great part of their zeal and time to make good their narrow foot-hold. The same remark is in a measure applicable to other denominations. If bishops are not *jure divino* a distinct order from presbyters, Episcopalians lose their vantage ground. Hence, they must devote, and have in all ages devoted, a great part of their strength to make good that position. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that our church is called the "Presbyterian." That presbyters are the highest permanent officers in the church, of divine appointment, is a common Protestant doctrine. It is not peculiar to us; it belongs to the whole Protestant world, except the Church of England. It is, therefore, not our life, and should not be made so prominent in our title. The Church of Scotland, the Church of Holland, the German Reformed Church, and other bodies, are presbyterian as well as ourselves. There is, however, not much in the mere name. It is because nothing external, ritual, or ceremonial is essential to our denominational existence, that it has always been characteristic of the Reformed Churches that TRUTH, and not forms, has been with them the great object of interest.

A Eulogy pronounced on Daniel Webster, before the citizens of Burlington, N. J., at the Lyceum, on November 4th, 1852. By Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, a minister of the Presbyterian Church, and an Elector of Burlington Township. Published by request. Burlington, 1852.

A Discourse occasioned by the death of Daniel Webster. Preached October 31. Repeated November 14, 1852. By E. L. Cleaveland, Pastor of the Third Congregational Church, New Haven.

A Discourse on the Life and Character of Daniel Webster. By H. A. Boardman, D. D. Philadelphia: 1852.

We have seen it stated, that about one hundred and twenty or thirty sermons have already been preached and printed, relating to the death of Mr. Webster. Few, if any of the number, we presume, are of higher order than those above

mentioned. That by Dr. Boardman, we have heard characterized, by those who enjoyed the advantage of its oral delivery, as one of the happiest of his efforts. The death of such a man as Webster is a national event, and properly called for a general and formal expression of the national feeling. We confess, however, we regard with concern the New England practice of "preaching to the occasion" making such progress in our church. The burning of a steamer, a railroad disaster, the arrival of a Hungarian, anything in short, which for the time excites public attention, is often made a theme for the pulpit. This custom may have its advantages, but we fear its tendency is to degrade the house of God, and to supersede the Gospel. Paul says he determined to know nothing but Christ and him crucified, and that his commission was to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ. We are well aware that Paul's own example shows how wide a range of subjects, moral and religious, is embraced within the circle, of which the above doctrines are the centre. But nevertheless we think the practice of many of our ministers, especially in New England, greatly exceeds the limits of apostolic example, and of sound discretion.

Africa's Redemption. A Discourse on African Colonization, in its missionary aspects, and in its relation to Slavery and Abolition. By William H. Ruffner, Pastor of the Seventh Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 1852. pp. 48.

This is an earnest and vigorous argument in behalf of one of the greatest enterprises of the age. That Africa must be civilized and christianized by Africans, is a conclusion in which the wise and good in England and America are generally agreed. But that the black race are, in their present state of advancement, competent to this work without the aid of white missionaries, is a very doubtful point. It is certain that unless the colonists who settle among a barbarous people are themselves educated and religious, they will sink to the level of the savages around them, instead of elevating the savages. It is much to be feared that in Jamaica, and other of the West India Islands, the self-sustaining point was not reached by the blacks before they were emancipated, and therefore, the danger is they will relapse into barbarism. There is in all human probability, no help for them but in the presence of white, or at least fully civilized missionaries of the Gospel. Two very important conclusions in reference to Africa follow from this principle. The one is, that our missionary societies must for years to come supply white men to form and guide the rising communities in that benighted land; and the other is, that

the colonists sent thither should themselves be civilized, and religious men, at least in such proportion as to give character to the colonies. These are matters which deserve more attention than they have hitherto received.

Justification by Faith. A Sermon delivered before the Synod of New York and New Jersey, Oct. 20th, 1852. By Rev. Jonathan F. Stearns, D. D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Newark, N. J. New York: 1852. pp. 36.

Justification is here defined, in the language of an old Lutheran divine, to be "an act whereby God, as judge, pronounces man, who is a sinner, and thereby chargeable with fault, and obnoxious to punishment, a righteous man." In this definition, all the points are included in which the Protestant doctrine differs, on the one hand, from the Romish doctrine, which makes justification an onward or subjective change; and, on the other, from the views of those who make it the act of a sovèreign, dispensing with the law, and consisting simply in pardon and restoration to favour.

As to the ground of justification, this sermon teaches that it is the rightcousness of Christ, that his righteousness includes his obedience, as well as his expiatory sufferings, and that this righteousness is imputed. The ground of this imputation is declared to be our union with Christ; "we are *his*, we are *one* with him; therefore are we accepted for his sake."

The sermon further teaches, that we are justified by faith, as including knowledge, assent and confidence. "It is an act in which the whole soul concentrates itself, and may be described as its abandonment of all other dependences—implying, therefore, conviction of guilt, of need, and of helplessness—and its surrender of the whole man, heart, intellect and will, to the Saviour's disposal, withal accepting him in return, and resting on him with loving confidence."

In reading this sermon, we did not notice a single sentiment in which we do not concur. It presents, in a clear and devout manner, the common doctrine of Protestants on this vital subject. It furnishes evidence not only of a clear and strong mind, but of one whose field of view is not confined to the theological writings of the last half century, or of our country.

A Contrast, between the Erroneous Assertions of Prof. Schaf, and the Testimony of credible Ecclesiastical Historians, in regard to the state of the Church in the Middle Ages. By J. J. Janeway, D. D. New Brunswick, N. J. 1852.

It is the fashion of the day to turn from Puritan simplicity to the pomp and symbolizations of the middle ages, to mistake æsthetical for spiritual excellence, and to make beauty cover a

multitude of sins. The middle ages doubtless had their wonders of art and intellect, and also of piety, but as a period of the Church, they are the last to be held up for admiration or imitation. Dr. Janeway's pamphlet, we hope, will do good, by presenting moral deformities of an age, upon which philosophers and young ladies, in illustration of the adage that extremes meet, unite in doting.

A Historical Sketch of the First Presbyterian Church in the City of New Brunswick; read before the Historical Society of New Jersey, September 8th, 1852. By Robert Davidson, D. D., Pastor of said Church. Published by request. New Brunswick: 1852. pp. 52.

This is a valuable contribution to the history of the Church and of religion in New Jersey.

The Revelation of St. John, expounded for those who search the Scriptures. By E. W. Hengstenberg, Doctor and Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated from the original, by the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, author of the "Typology of Scripture," &c. Vol. I. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway, 1852. pp. 581.

Having already expressed at large our opinion of this important work, we need only say that we rejoice in its being rendered accessible to a larger class of readers, by being translated into English and re-published in this country.

The Mine Explored; or Help to the Reading of the Bible. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1853. pp. 382.

This work was written by the late Benjamin Elliot Nichols, M. A., of Queen's College, Cambridge, (England.) It treats of the authority, interpretation, antiquities, and contents of the Bible. It is in fact an introduction to the Scriptures. It is the product of great labour, in a very condensed form.

Parables of Spring. By Gaussen. Translated from the French, by the Rev. Philip Berry. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. pp. 103.

This is a beautiful little book by an evangelical writer whose reputation is established in America as well as in Europe. It is designed to make the phenomena of Spring vehicles of religious instruction.

Churches of the Valley: or an Historical Sketch of the Old Presbyterian Congregations of Cumberland and Franklin counties, in Pennsylvania. By the Rev. Alfred Nevin, of the Presbytery of Carlisle. Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 288 Chesnut street. 1852. pp. 338.

This is a handsome volume, relating to one of the most interesting portions of our ecclesiastical field. We think the Church is under great obligations to Mr. Nevin, for the research and skill expended in the collection and exhibition of the facts here placed on record. It is a work which, we hope,

will not only prove successful, but suggestive, exciting others to similar enterprises.

Letters on Clerical Manners and Habits: addressed to a Student in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. By Samuel Miller, D. D. A new edition revised. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

A work highly prized, not only for its intrinsic value, but for the sake of its venerated author, whose memory is dear to thousands.

Heaven Opened: or a Brief and Plain Discovery of the Riches of God's Covenant of Grace. By Rev. Richard Alleine. A. D. 1665. Revised and somewhat abridged. Published by the American Tract Society. pp. 388.

Another standard spiritual work of the seventeenth century. The theme, as the title imports, is the riches of the blessings given by God to his people in his covenant of grace. He gives himself, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the earth, the kingdom of glory, a new heart, a heart to know, love, fear, and obey the Lord. The book contains two glowing chapters from Rev. Joseph Alleine, author of the Alarm to the Unconverted, on the exceeding great and precious promises, and the believer's triumph therein, and closes with a solemn appeal to the unconverted, and to the people of God.

Bible Companion: designed for the assistance of Bible Classes, Families, and Young Students of the Scriptures. With an Introduction. By Stephen Tyng, D. D., Rector of St. George's Church, New York. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1853. pp. 149.

Another compact introduction to the study of the Scriptures.

The Morning Watches and Night Watches. By the author of "The Faithful Promiser." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1853. pp. 130.

A series of meditations for the morning and evening, designed as aids to private devotion.

Romanism as it is. An Oration delivered by the Rev. John Cumming, D. D., of London. With an Appendix by the Editor. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

An Address to Students. By Rev. James Hamilton, London. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

May I go to the Theatre? By the late Rev. John McDonald, A. M., Missionary Minister, Calcutta. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

These are three tracts, published by our Board, written by men of the highest reputation, on subjects specially calling for attention.

The Spring-time of life; or Advice to Youth. By David Magie, Elizabethtown, N. J., published by Robert Carter and Brothers, New York, pp. 328.

A truly valuable book; written in a style simple, chaste, and well adapted to the object of the writer. The lessons it inculcates are lessons of great practical wisdom; and the youth that gives heed to them, will never regret the time he has bestowed upon the careful perusal of this volume. Parents, too, will find it suggestive of many useful hints for the right training of youth. The topics discussed are—The season of youth.—Young men in danger.—Power of habit.—Company, its influence.—Error, its causes and consequences.—Caution and encouragement.—Truth between man and man.—Bible honesty.—Industry the road to success.—The value of good principles.—Courtesy.—Mental improvement.—Mental impressions indelible.—Manliness in youth.—The Bible the young man's book.—Christ an example to young men.—Religion the principal thing. These matters are handled with the sobriety and judgment for which the author is distinguished. The tendency of the volume is, what it professes to be, the best good of the young; and the author has breathed upon its pages his own benevolent spirit.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

It is very interesting to observe the shifts resorted to, to obviate the difficulties and disabilities laid upon the rising intellect of the lower and labouring classes, by the social institutions of the country. There is an agitation afoot for the relief of knowledge, which is steadily advancing. The cost of publications is so great, that Circulating Librarics have been pressed into new and curious uses. We notice one, Mudie's, that advertises 300 copies of Thackeray's "Esmond." The subscription fee is a guinea, and for this the books are brought to the subscribers, and changed anywhere within four miles of London. This Library has 5,000 volumes.

There are also large collections of recent works where they may be bought second-hand, at a low rate. The Book Societies, which are innumerable, furnish another way of overcoming the difficulties placed in the way of intelligence. Still another is

brought to view in the following advertisement: "A clean copy of the Times, posted the day after publication for 13d. per quarter."

We notice the establishment of a new Retrospective Review, on the model of the former, which ceased some years ago; and, which is so important to the student of English literature. It will be devoted to essays on past literature, English and Foreign, accounts of rare and curious books, beauties of forgotten authors, the knowledge and opinions of other days. There will be copious criticisms, and analyses of interesting old books. Living authors are to be excluded. Besides this, a division will contain "Anecdota Literaria," or short MSS., reprinted from the stores of the British Museum, the Bodleian, and other Libraries; also, a department for correspondence. Our readers can gain some notion of this publication, from the table of contents of No. 1.

1. Mrs. Behn's Dramatic Writings.
2. The Travels of Boulaye de Gouz.
3. Increase Mather's "Remarkable Providences of the Earlier Days of American Civilization."
4. Eburne's "Plaine Pathway to Plantations."
5. Bishop Berkly on Tar Water.
6. French Pictures of the English in the Last Century.
7. The First Edition of Shakspeare.
8. Anecdota Literaria—"Unpublished Diary of a Dorsetshire Gentleman, 1697–1702"—Our Old Public Libraries.

The publisher is John Russel Smith, 36 Soho Square.

Alison's History of Europe from 1815 to 1852, is to be in five volumes. The first volume is a disquisition on politics and philosophy, social, economical and moral. The whole applied to determine the true relations and future destinies of Europe. He holds that the nations are essentially in the same situation as the Roman Empire at the moment of its dissolution. That the energies at work are destructive, and that the future of Europe rests with the Czar.

"The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth," by W. Stirling, M. P.

Ranke's Work on the Civil Wars and Monarchy in France, in the sixteenth century, is issued simultaneously in Berlin and London.

"A Narrative of the Attempted Escape of King Charles I. from Carisbrook Castle, and of his detention in the Isle of Wight from November 1647, to the seizure of his person by the army at Newport, November 16, 1648: including the letters from the King to Colonel Titus, now first deciphered and print-

ed from the originals, by George Hillier." Mr. Hillier is an enthusiastic admirer of Charles, his narrative must therefore be received with allowance. It shows however, the hand of a scholar. The letters, before inaccessible to the ordinary student, are valuable, and throw a strong light on an interesting portion of history.

"Revelations of Siberia," by the Lady Eve Felinska. This lady was banished to the extreme limits of the convict territory, Bereson, 600 miles beyond Tobolsk; and possessing an observant eye, and good powers of description, has presented a lively and graphic picture of the country, its natural phenomena, and the manners and customs of the semi-barbarous aborigines of these frozen solitudes. The book is interesting to the naturalist and ethnologist, and also to the statesman, exhibiting as it does, the economy of the terra incognita of Russian despotism.

"Travels in European Turkey, through Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Roumelia, Albania and Epirus, with a Tour through Hungary and the Sclavonian Provinces of Austria," by Edmund Spencer, Esq., Author of "Travels in Circassia," illustrated, and with a valuable map.

"Monuments of Nineveh," second series, consisting of sculptures, vases and bronzes, recently discovered, chiefly illustrative of the wars of Sennacherib.

"The Stowe Papers," being the concluding volumes of the Granville correspondence, edited with notes, elucidating the authorship.

"My Home in Tasmania, during a residence of Ten Years." By Mrs. Charles Meredith, author of Sketches in New South Wales.

"A Naval and Military Dictionary of Technical Words and Phrases; English and French, and French and English." By Lieut. Col. Burn, Assistant Inspector of Artillery.

The press sounds the note of preparation for the struggle between the two opposing principles in the English Church. We notice "The Convocations of the two Provinces, their Origin, Constitution, and Forms of Procedure; with a chapter on their Revival." By George Trevor, M. A., Canon of York and Proctor for the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of York. Also, "Synodalia," a monthly journal, setting forth the progress of the present movements, and collecting all the information on the subject.

The following are reprints of works by Prof. Blackie:

1. "Classical Literature in Relation to the Nineteenth Century, and Scottish University Education. An Inaugural Lecture, delivered in the University of Edinburgh."

2. "The Pronunciation of Greek; Accent and Quantity." A philological inquiry.

3. "On the Rhythmical Declamation of the Ancients."

4. "On the Studying and Teaching of Languages."

"Turner and his Works:" illustrated by examples from his pictures, and critical remarks on his principles of painting. By John Burnet, author of Rembrandt and his Works. With a memoir by P. Cunningham. 4to. £1 11s. 6d.

"The Commercial Tariff of all Countries," collected and arranged by the Prussian Government. Carefully translated. Edited by C. N. Newdegate, M. P. This work is by Herr Otto Hübner, the greatest statist in the world. With indefatigable perseverance, he has established relations with the heads of departments of all the civilized governments, and now can obtain more accurate and quicker information than governments can receive through diplomatic sources. This he freely imparts, and in return, governments find it to their interest to afford him every facility. The English Board of Trade have furnished him with several valuable papers. Besides the above work, he publishes the "Statistical Annuary," and a sheet, "The Statistical Survey."

"The Parsees, or Modern Zerdusthians." A sketch, by H. George Briggs, author of the Cities of Gufarashtra.

Oliver & Boyd, of Edinburgh, announce the fifth volume of "D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation," embracing the Reformation in England.

"Kaffraria and the Kaffirs." By Rev. Francis P. Fleming, Military Chaplain, King William's Town. With illustrations.

"The Tea Countries of India and China." By Robert Fortune. With maps and wood-cuts.

Latham has issued three new works:—

1. "Ethnology of Europe."

2. "Ethnology of the British Islands."

3. "Ethnology of the British Colonies and Dependencies."

The object of the first work is to ascertain the extent to which what is called race is the result of circumstances, or whether circumstances be the result of race. The second discusses the extent to which difference of what is called race is an element of national dislikes, predilections, or antipathies. The conclusions he comes to are that pedigree and nationality rarely coincide; that there is rarely any approach; that the most powerful nations in Europe are heterogeneous; and yet that the benefits of mixture are doubtful, and have been exaggerated. "To attribute national aptitudes and inaptitudes, or national predilections or antipathies, to the unknown influences of blood,

as long as the patent facts of history and external circumstances remain unexhausted, is to cut the Gordian knot, rather than to untie it. That there is something in pedigree is probable, but in the mind of a scientific ethnologist, this something is much nearer to nothing, than to every thing."

It is said that a debating society has been established among the Tutors and Masters of Oxford University, for the purpose of discussing University Reform.

Five interesting Hebrew works, in manuscript, have been lately discovered:

1. "Mantle of Elijah;" a commentary on the Pentateuch, by Rabbi Jacob Elijah, written about the time of Charles II.

2. "The Gleanings of Paradise;" a collection of cabalistic pieces, explanations of difficult passages in the Hebrew SS., moral aphorisms, illustrated by allegories, and a treatise on Hebrew Grammar.

3. Eight MSS. works by the late Rabbi Natta Ellinger, of Hamburg.

4. Three volumes of a work called "Great Understanding;" being a commentary on the obscure passages in the Medrash Rabba, with an explanation of all foreign words, not in the Rabbinical Lexicon, "Aaruch."

5. "A Book of Names," by R. Solomon Ben Aaron, in 1676, being an analysis of the Cabala, with an illustration of the Cabalistic alphabet.

GERMANY.

It is understood that Prof. Schaf's Church History is translating into English under the author's supervision.

A Commentary by Hengstenberg is announced upon the Song of Solomon.

Caspari's expository treatise on Micah the Morasthite has been completed. 8vo. pp. 458.

This work is divided into three chapters. The first treats of the form and signification of the name of the prophet, of his birth place (Moresheth-Gath) and native land (Kingdom of Judah), of the period of his ministry, the date of his book, and the truth and genuineness of its title (both which it defends). The second chapter, which composes the body of the work, contains the exposition of the prophecy in a full continuous paraphrase, with foot-notes discussing all questions of criticism and interpretation, followed by a dissertation on the spirit of the prophet, and his peculiarities of style and language. The third chapter is devoted to the consideration of the relation between the book of Micah and the previous books of the Old

Testament, the contemporary book of Isaiah (Mic. iv. 1—3, Is. ii. 2—4, is original with Micah, not Isaiah), the succeeding books of the Old Testament and those of the New. The author is already known to our readers as an able and believing commentator. The prolixity of this book and its wonderful love for *minutiæ* make it often dull. The paraphrase is for the most part clear and good, although there will naturally be a difference of opinion as to some of his results. The critical matter has been thrown into a very unfortunate form for purposes of consultation; and no pains have been taken, whether by an index or by numbers in the margin, to relieve the difficulty, so that it requires not a little labour and patience to find what one may be in quest of.

W. Neumann has in press at Leipsic, if it has not already appeared, a work in 2 vols. 8vo. entitled Jeremiah of Anathoth, his Prophecies and Lamentations expounded according to the Masoretic text.

Neumann is one of the contributors to Rudelbach and Guericke's Zeitschrift, and belongs to that school of theology which it represents.

A. Klöpper, De origine epistolarum ad Ephesios et Colossenses, a criticis Tubingensibus e gnosi Valentiniana deducta. 8vo. pp. 55.

J. van Gilse, Disputation concerning the most ancient catalogue of the sacred books of the New Testament, commonly called the Fragment of Muratori. 4to. pp. 31.

This is a "gratulations-schrift" by a professor in the Baptist Seminary at Amsterdam on the 25th anniversary of the induction of an older colleague. The most recent investigations of importance on this subject were by Credner in his history of the Canon 1847, and by Wieseler in the Studien und Kritiken of the same year, the former of whom chiefly regarded the explanation, the latter the restoration of the text. Their differing so much as they did in the details of their views led to a renewed examination on the part of the author of this treatise. It contains a brief view of the literature of the Fragment, an attempt at the correction of the text, and remarks upon its probable age (which, like his predecessors, he fixes at about A. D. 170), its original language (Greek), its author, and the books of the New Testament included or omitted.

M. Jochram, Moral Theology, or the doctrine of the Christian life according to the maxims of the Catholic Church. Part I. 8vo. pp. 592.

F. C. Baur, The Epochs of Ecclesiastical Historiography. Tübingen. 8vo. pp. 269. He distinguishes six epochs: 1.

The old Catholic represented by Eusebius and others on through the middle ages. 2. The old Protestant represented by Flacius and the Magdeburg Centuriators. 3. The opposition to the Centuriators, on the Catholic side by Baronius, on the Protestant by Arnold. 4. The gradual transition from the dualistic view of the world to the idea of historical development, Mosheim, Walch and others. 5. The pragmatic method, Planch, Henke &c. 6. The striving after an objective view of history characterizes the most recent church historians, Marheinecke, Neander, Gieseler, Hase and others. The consideration of these is followed by a seventh section containing the results, and hints upon the idea of the Church, the periods of church history, its arrangement, and the relation of general to special church history.

H. W. Thiersch, History of the ancient Christian Church. Part I., containing an account of the Church in the apostolic age, and of the origin of the New Testament writings. 8vo. pp. 372.

The author is known as an antagonist of Baur, and his work is dated one month later than the preceding. The introduction is divided into 3 chapters: 1. Heathenism. 2. The old covenant and Judaism. 3. Christ and the Church. The rest of the volume contains the first book of the projected history, and likewise falls into three parts; 1. the period of the ministry of Peter, 2. of Paul, 3. of John.

A. Tholuck, The Spirit of the Lutheran Theologians of Wittenberg in the course of the 17th century, partly from MS. sources. 8vo. pp. 434.

In a notice in Zancke's Literarisches Centralblatt this work is said to contain "a rich mine of materials not only for the history of the Lutheran theologians of Wittenberg, but for the history of the numerous controversies within the Lutheran Church at that period."

C. A. Cornelius (Privatdoc. in the university at Breslau). The share of East Friesland in the Reformation up to the year 1535. 8vo. pp. 66.

The author claims for this apparently unimportant district of Holland no mean influence upon the course of the Reformation, especially during what he calls its second period, that between the time when it was a contest between the learned, and the time when its cause was espoused by governments. In the appendix are given a letter from the Count of East Friesland to the landgrave Philip dated 1530, and an Anabaptist document in Low Dutch.

H. Heppe, History of German Protestantism in the years

1555—1581. Vol. I. conducting the history as far as 1562. 8vo. pp. 665.

Large use has been made of original sources, especially of those furnished by the archives at Cassel.

E. Cunitz, A Ritual of the Cathari. 8vo. pp. 88. It is stated in the preface that Dr. Cunitz found the MS. now first published in the library at Lyons. It consisted of 13 pages appended to a New Testament in the Romansh language. The registrar of the Rhone department took it for a Waldensian or Albigensian work. The author and Dr. Gieseler both regard it as a remnant of the formularies and the rituals of the Cathari, belonging to the 13th or 14th century, and in the language of the Troubadours of that time. It consists of three parts, viz. a formulary for confession, for introduction into the first grade of church communion, and for introduction into the number of true Christians. If his supposition is correct, this is the first of the writings of that people ever published. Hitherto they have been judged solely by the testimony of their enemies. A German translation is given with the text, and this is followed by a critical dissertation upon their life and doctrine.

J. Fessler, Institutiones patrologicæ. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 1071.

F. Lücke, Attempt at a complete Introduction to the Revelation of John, and to the Apocalyptic Literature in general. 2d Lieferung. Part 2. 8vo. pp. 567—1074.

F. W. Hassenkamp, Hessian Church History from the time of the Reformation. Vol. I. Nos. 1—5. 8vo. pp. 790.

The corrupt Influence of the Hegelian Philosophy. By the author of "Antibarbarus logicus." 8vo. pp. 71. This was mainly written in justification of the Austrian Ministry of Instruction for having deposed a professor from his office in the university of Prague for holding Hegelian sentiments.

Swedenborg, Adversaria in libros Veteris Testamenti. From an autograph MS. now first published. Vol. IV. Part I. pp. 364.

R. J. Wunderbar, Brief Exposition of the usages of the Israelitish worship. From the Shulhan Aruch. Course I. contains the Ritual for prayers and holidays. 8vo. pp. 43.

Wunderbar, Biblico-Talmudical medicine, or pragmatic exhibition of the healing art among the ancient Israelites, from Abraham to the conclusion of the Babylonish Talmud. Part 2. 8vo. pp. 64. Part 3. pp. 68.

What Fassel has done for the legal science of the Talmud, Hirschfeld for the Talmudic mode of expounding the Bible, and Fürst for the Talmudic schools in Asia, Wunderbar here

attempts for its medical science. The introduction treats of 1. the history of Israelitish medicine up to A. D. 500; 2. the weights, measures, instruments and apparatus employed; 3. the literature of Israelitish medicine. Then follows the body of the work treating separately of Materia Medica, Pharmacology, Macrobiotics, Dietetics, Pathology and Chirurgy.

J. Fürst, Hebrew and Chaldee Dictonary of the Old Testament, with an Introduction containing a short history of Hebrew lexicography. Nos. 1 and 2. 8vo. pp. 352.

Fallmerayer, Memoir upon Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, 4to. pp. 48. From the Transactions of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences.

Schimper, Accounts from and about Abyssinia. 8vo. pp. 15. Vienna. Roy. Acad. of Science.

R. Zimmermann, Cardinal Nicolaus Cusanus as the forerunner of Leibnitz. 8vo. pp. 25. R. A. of S.

Lepsius, Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia. Nos. 25—32. Imp. fol. 80. lith. plates.

A. Weber, Academical Lectures on the History of Hindoo Literature, delivered in the winter semester of 1851—2. 8vo. pp. 285. Few men living are better acquainted with this subject than Weber.

Bopp, Comparative Grammar of the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Old Slavic, Gothic, and German. Part VI. 4to. pp. 1157—1511.

Several papers of Pfizmaier on the Aino-language, and the Japanese poetry, have been printed separately at Vienna from the Transactions of the R. A. of S.

A third volume 4to. pp. 985, has been published of Hammer-Purgstall's Literary History of the Arabs. This volume goes over a period of 100 years, from the year of the Hejira 132 to 232. A paper of his on the Moslem doctrine of Spirits, fol. pp. 42 has been reprinted at Vienna from the R. A. of S.

Poem of Mor Yaqub on the faithful king, Aleksandrus, and on the gate which he made against Ogug and Mogug. A contribution to the history of the traditions respecting Alexander in the East. 8vo. pp. 35.

Ibn Akil's Commentary on the Alfiyya of Ibn Malik for the first time translated from the Arabic, by F. Dieterici. 8vo. pp. 408.

Annales regum et legatorum Dei. Ex. cod. ms. Arabice ed. et in lat. transtulit J. G. Rosengarten. Vol. III. 4to. pp. 251.

M. Rapp, Outline of the Grammar of the Indo-European family of languages. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 256.

Epistolae Novi Testamenti Coptice: ed. P. Bœtticher. 8vo. pp. 281.

J. Spitzer, Mythology of the Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Germans, and northern nations. Part II. 8vo. pp. 139.

C. Bötticher, The Tectonics of the Hellenes. Vol. II. Part 2d. 24 copper plates.

E. von Lasaulx, History and Philosophy of Marriage among the Greeks. 4to. pp. 108. R. Bav. Ac. of S.

E. Zeller, Philosophy of the Greeks. Part III. second Half. 8vo. pp. 453—983.

Wachsmuth's Universal History of Culture has been completed by the publication of Vol. III. 8vo. pp. 558. This volume contains the history of modern culture. It is divided into four books. 1. Formation of the Christian-European Culture. 2. Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Judicial Constitution. 3. Natural Science, Material Interests, War. 4. Mental and Moral Culture. This last book is subdivided, thus: (1.) Education, Learning, Scientific Culture generally. (2.) Spoken Language, Writing, Printing, Popular Literature. (3.) Philology, Antiquities, Palæography. (4.) History. (5.) Philosophy. (6.) Doctrines of Religion, Piety, Morality. (7.) Poetry, elegant Prose. (8.) Painting, Statuary, Architecture. (9.) Music, Dancing, the Drama.

H. Ewald's Annual of Biblical Science for 1851—2 has appeared. 8vo. pp. 230. This is the fourth of the series.

W. Grimm, The History of Rhyme. 4to. pp. 193. R. A. of S. A very elaborate discussion of the origin and history of the various kinds of rhyme used in poetic composition.

A. A. E. Schleiermacher, Bibliographical System of the entire body of Science, with an Introduction upon the arranging of libraries, engravings, music, scientific and business papers. 2 parts. 8vo. pp. 1661.

Wigand's Conversations-Lexicon, Vol. XIV. 8vo. pp. 764. Technik—Wahrheit.

E. Kluge, Position and Significance of the Apocrypha. 8vo. pp. 79. This received the second of the prizes offered in the Grand Duchy of Baden, for the best treatises against the reception of the Apocrypha in the editions of the Bible. It is in dialogue form, and discusses the subject in a popular way. That of Keerl (see last No., p. 712) took the first prize, and is a scientific investigation of the claims of the Apocrypha.

J. E. Cellérier, Manuel d'herméneutique biblique. 8vo. pp. 383. Geneva.

Ernest Fr. Leopold, (Lic. Theol. & Ph. Dr.), died March 7, 1852, at Bautzen, in Saxony, where he was connected with the

gymnasium. He was born at Chemnitz, Dec. 3, 1804. His small Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon is widely and favourably known. Besides some other publications, he edited the works of Tertullian in Gersdorf's Bibliotheca Patrum eccles. Lat.

Eugene Burnouf, Professor of the Sanscrit language and literature, in the College of France, and one of the most distinguished Orientalists of the present day, died at Paris, May 28, 1852. He was born in the same city, April 12, 1801. His principal writings are, An Essay on the Pali, or Sacred Language, &c., 1826; French India, the divinities, temples, customs, &c., of the Hindoos who inhabit the French possessions in India, 1827–'35; Vendidad Sade, one of the books of Zoroaster, published with a commentary, translation, &c., 1829–'32; Commentary on the Yacna, one of the religious books of the Parsees, 2 vols., 1833–'39; Memoir on the Cuneiform Inscriptions found near Hamadan, 1836; The Bhâgavata Purâna, or a poetic history of Krishna, 2 vols., 1840–'44; Introduction to the History of Buddhism, 2 vols., 1844–'52, &c., &c.

Rudelbach & Guericke's Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche, for the year 1852.

Number First.—Flörke on the Doctrine of the Church and its Office; Münchmeyer—The Office of the N. T.; Ströbel—The Threatening danger of a Protestant Papacy, 2d article; Mehlhorn—Transactions of the Lutheran Conference held at Leipsic, on the 27th and 28th August, 1851; Besser—On Church Discipline; Notices of Recent Literature.

Number Second.—Rudelbach—Staatskirchenthum und Religions-freiheit, 7th section; Drechsler—The Servant of Jehovah, with an addition by Delitzsch; Neumann—What a Protestant Saw and Did at Rome, article 1st; Ströbel—Letter respecting the Leipsic Lutheran Conference; Recent Literature.

Number Third.—Rudelbach—Staatskirchenthum und Religions-freiheit, (conclusion); Guericke—Conciliatory or Burning Church Questions of the Time, art. 1; Caspari—On the Exposition of Micah; Diehl—The Present so-called Spiritual Estate of the Clergy; Recent Literature.

Number Fourth.—Besser—Studies in John, (John xii. 44–50); Gademann—John the Baptist; Karrer—History of the Lutheran Church in the Principality of Oettingen, section 1; Ströbel—The Evangel. Kirchenzeitung for 1852. Recent Literature.

Ullmann and Umbreit's Theologische Studien und Kritiken for 1852:

Number First.—Ullman, The Times considered. Schenkel, The Task of Biblical Theology. Tiele, Remarks on Kurtz's

Unity of Genesis. Pfeiffer, Time of the Composition of the Epistle of James. Hamberger, The Present Indifference to every Philosophical tendency. Reviews: Perthes, Life of Frederick Perthes, rev. by Umbreit. Thibaut on purity of Music, rev. by Umbreit. Thenius, Books of Kings, rev. by Rüetschi. Valuable Remains of the Theologian Löser. Ecclesisastical: Schenkel, Import of the Ministerial Calling. West, On the Lawfulness and Import of the Christian oath.

Number Second.—Bleek on the age of Zechariah, chap. ix–xiv. Luthardt, ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ and πίστις. Umbreit, Change of the name Saul to Paul. Ullman, A Word from France. Reviews: Martensen, Christian Dogmatics, rev. by Schœberlein. Vinet, Théologie pastorale ou théorie du ministère évangélique, rev. by Kienlen. Ecclesiastical, Kling, der vierte evangel. Kirchentag. Miscellanies.

Number Third.—Ullmann, The Essence of Christianity and Mysticism. Lange, A Word on the contemplation of Nature from the Christological point of view. Rinck, On the origin of evil, and the possibility of avoiding the fall. Von Gumpach, The Taxing. Reviews: König and Gelzer, Dr. Martin Luther, the German Reformer, rev. by Umbreit. Lechler, The Apostolic and Post-Apostolic age, rev. by Auberlen. Pocci, J. Joubert's Thoughts, Essays and Maxims, rev. by Hamberger. Ecclesiastical: Kling, der vierte evang. Kirchentag, part 2.

Number Fourth.—Dörtenbach, The method of the History of Doctrine. Staib, The Act of Creation, and the Image of God. Ullmann, What is reformatory and speculative in the mode of thinking of the Author of "Deutsche Theologie." Köster, How is the Revelation of God in Scripture related to the free mental action of the Sacred Writers? Reviews: Delitzsch, The Song of Solomon, rev. by Umbreit. Ritschl, Origin of the old Catholic church, rev. by Redepenning. Jacobi, Life of Nature and Life of Spirit, rev. by Wächter. Ecclesiastical: Süsskina, Examination of the Claim recently raised of Auricular Confession before the Lord's Supper.

Number First for the year 1853.—Schwarz, Melanchthon and his Pupils as Moralists. Creuzer, Josephus and his Greek and Hellenist leaders. Vierordt, Folding of the hands in prayer. Heidenheim, On the Synagoga magna. Reviews: Hofmann, Scripture-proof, rev. by Auberlen. Ewald, Antiquities of the people Israel, rev. by Mezger. Ecclesiastical: Ullmann, Considerations on the occasion of a recent occurrence in the Catholic church. Miscellany: Umbreit, Recollections of J. G. Eichhorn.

We have thought that the following statistics of the German

Universities and Churches would be interesting to our readers, as presenting in brief and clear view, the relative condition of learning and religion in Germany at the present moment.

University.	Founded.	Religion.	Ord. Prof.	Extr. Prof.	Priv. Doc.	Tutors.
Berlin,	1810	Prot.	57	44	55	10
Bonn,	1818	Mixed	48	15	18	5
Breslau,	1702	Mixed	39	11	20	12
Erlangen,	1743	Prot.	24	13	4	—
Freiburg,	1454	Cath.	26	2	10	1
Giessen,	1607	Mixed	34	17	8	2
Göttingen,	1734	Prot.	43	16	23	10
Grätz,	1586					
renewed	1827	Cath.	33	4	5	5
Greifswald,	1456	Prot.	24	8	3	4
Halle,	1694	Prot.	36	13	23	6
Heidelberg,	1386	Prot.	32	12	23	15
Innsbruck,	1672					
ren. 1792 and	1826	Cath.	18	—	2	4
Jena,	1548	Prot.	34	24	9	11
Kiel,	1665	Prot.	21	10	11	6
Königsberg,	1544	Prot.	29	8	19	—
Leipsic,	1409	Prot.	44	27	26	3
Marburg,	1527	Prot.	28	13	12	7
Munich,	1826	Cath.	59	18	18	2
Olmutz, 1581 ren.	1827	Cath.	22	2	—	—
Prague,	1348	Cath.	40	15	21	—
Rostock,	1419					
ren.	1789	Prot.	22	4	9	2
Tubingen,	1477	Mixed	29	20	16	6
Vienna, 1365, ren.	1756	Cath.	57	13	—	—
Wurzburg,	1403					
ren.	1582	Cath.	32	5	5	9

The numbers of students as far as given, omitting what may be found in the last number of the Repertory, p. 716, is as follows, viz:

University.	Whole No.	Theology.	Law.	Medicine.	Philosophy.
Berlin,	2171	169	620	275	345
Bonn,	1012	267	350	111	256
Giessen,	411	56	127	82	37
Göttingen,	677	110	231	185	151
Halle,	670	361	156	71	50
Königsberg,	346	39	165	72	70
Tubingen,	774	321	181	133	103

Of the students of Theology given above, 196 at Bonn, and

157 at Tubingen are Catholics; the rest are Protestants. The statistics given of Königsberg, are for the winter semester of 1851–2; those of the other Universities for the summer semester of 1852.

The Evangelical church has in

Baden, 330 pastoral charges.

Brunswick, 253 ministers.

Hanover, 1164 pastors.

Electorate of Hesse, 1244 congregations with 460 pastors.

Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 296 congregations with 327 pastors and 470 churches.

Austria, 150 congregations with 165 ministers.

Oldenburg, 117 ministers.

Prussia, 5820 preachers and 6712 churches.

Saxony, 1190 ministers.

Wurtemburg, 947 ministers and 1165 churches.